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## Frankfurt Issue

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## CROSS PURPOSES

"Croscurrents" is a special number on the possible links between literature and such intellectual disciplines as sociology, psychology, politics, philosophy of science, our English contributors need to reach the conclusion that those of the specialist, and those of the specialist may have usurped many of the sciences which, not so long ago, were their own. However, where as we have appeared to have a great

deal still to offer in the fields of sociology, politics and psychology (though less so in the field of philosophy), our contributors could find no evidence that it is competent to cope with the discoveries of the "exact" sciences, such as physics, say, or chemistry. Indeed, it was assumed that the two disciplines are hostile to one another.

Now, in our second "Croscurrents" number, written by Continental contributors to coincide with this year's Frankfurt Book Fair, Raymond Queneau, writing on science and literature, is also concerned with the writer's hostility towards the natural scientist. The writer, M. Queneau feels, has acquired from the natural sciences nothing more than a few scientific metaphors, and the best that can be hoped for is that since science has in recent years tended to incorporate the whole of the "human sciences", it may no longer be possible for the writer to remain ignorant of its discoveries. M. Queneau also makes some interesting suggestions about the possibility of the future dependence on mathematics of "a new kind of rhetoric".

One of the intellectual disciplines to which literature would appear to be most obviously connected is sociology, and there can be no greater proof of this than the existence of a flourishing "sociology of literature". As Umberto Eco points out, it is of enormous importance for the sociologist to know what sort of people read what sort of book. What are the reading habits, for instance, of French soldiers? With what many will see as the Continental zeal to discover dialectical chain reactions, Signor Eco discovers a "dialectical chain reaction" in the influences at work, be-

tween the sociology of literature and literature itself. Whereas the reading habits of a certain public can be of interest to a sociologist, some novelists will direct their own attention to the sociologist's discoveries about those habits, so as to know what the public wants and thus serve up a saleable product. The consumer-directed novels which result will in turn be of interest to the sociologist, who may assume that the novelist's "standard" characters correspond fairly accurately to the myths and stereotypes of the age.

If the general problems of a particular period are enacted as individual problems by, say, the hero of a novel, then the sociologist will obviously be able to deduce from the hero's actions a great deal that will be instructive to him about that period. For Lucien Goldmann, for instance, the "structure" of individual writing can coincide almost exactly with the structure of the writer's social group, what M. Goldmann calls a "trans-individual" (or plural, collective) subject.

Of course the social interest of a work of literature is no guarantee of its artistic merit: the most unsuitable and blatantly programmatic works of literature may be the most nourishing fodder for sociological investigation. Also, a concern for social significance may encourage a writer to plump precisely for that sort of programmatic literature, as is the case with the exponents of socialist realism. The answer may lie in M. Goldmann's appeal to the aesthetics of Kant and Hegel, where literature's merit is measured by its ability to overcome "the tension between unity and multiplicity". A writer's arduous task must therefore be to represent life as diversely as pos-

sible yet nevertheless achieve the maximum coherence. He will reflect the basic "coherent structure" or "trans-individual subject" of his social group, but at the same time he will reflect an individual, "libidinal" incoherence, from which a future coherence may in fact eventually arise, superseding the former structure yet likely to be challenged in its turn. A work of literature can therefore be useful to a sociologist and make a sociological contribution without surrendering its complexity, and not only by virtue of the stereotypes it may be able to throw up.

M. Goldmann's insistence that the structure of a work of literature reflects the structure of a social group may not be all that remote from Václav Havel's demand, when writing on "Politics and the Theatre", that an audience during the performance of a play should be able to witness on the stage the reflection of its own "authenticity". Hans Magnus Enzensberger, writing on "The Writer and Politics", describes the failure of German writers during the past few years to achieve anything at all politically in their opposition to the west German administration, a failure he ascribes to their lack of disciplined commitment and concrete objective. And yet he acknowledges that "the resolution of the old dilemma, the dichotomy between the requirements of 'commitment' and the requirements of literary art, is farther off than ever".

It is indeed disheartening to recognize, from Herr Enzensberger's report, that the failure of German writers to influence politics is a result of their insistence above all on literary rigour and their refusal to compromise it in the interests of their political beliefs. There may indeed

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parliamentary means, to break the monopoly of the ruling C.D.U. and alter its disastrous policies. A very large number of writers took part in this attempt. They backed the Social Democrats, a former workers' party, which, in spite of its desperate attempts to reform, had never achieved the responsibility of office. The figure-head of postwar German literature, its best story teller, its international champion and national best-seller, Günter Grass, threw himself wholeheartedly into this election as a speaker at mass meetings—an event without precedent in German history. Dozens of authors joined together to form an "Election Committee of German Writers". Pamphlets were distributed, articles were written, advertisements were inserted in the newspapers.

The Social Democrats lost the elections. But this was not the real defeat of the opposition. The catastrophe came a year later, last winter, when the ruling class and their party suddenly found themselves in a severe structural crisis with their economic and political policies. The fiasco of their German and Eastern policy, the recession, the personal incapacity of Chancellor Erhard and the rapid loss of prestige by the Government party created an atmosphere of near panic. The saviour in the hour of need was Social Democracy. It entered the bankrupt Government as junior partner. The sell-out was complete. Since then there has been no organized opposition in Germany. The forms of parliamentary government have become a mere facade for a cartel, which the constitutional sovereign—the people—is no longer able to remove. Since then is already being hunted down. From the moment this development set in German literature lost its

political coherence. The first to opt out of the general consensus was Peter Weiss. The naive and crude form of Leninism, to which he gave his assent, had won few followers; but his open break with the political premises of Group 47 was not without its consequences. A minority of authors, who had had the wit to grasp the implications of events in Bonn and Berlin during the preceding twelve months, adopted a far more radical approach. (The line taken by magazines and newspapers like *Konkret*, *Kritikskern* and *Kursbuch* provides a pointer here.) The literary controversy which has been the principal object of interest of recent months is the dispute between Günter Grass and Erich Fried, a poet who has lived in London for many years, ignored by the British public. It is no accident that the book under dispute should be entitled *und Vietnam* and *und Vietnam*. It may surprise British readers to learn that a political controversy was sparked off by a volume of poems; but it is perhaps not so surprising that in their self-explorations "left-wing" writers should take their orientation from the revolutionary processes of the Third World.

For in fact, what we are faced with today is not communism but revolution. The political system in the Federal Republic is quite beyond repair. We can agree with it, or we must replace it with a new system. *Terlun non dabitur*. It was not the writers who narrowed the alternative down to such an extreme; on the contrary, for twenty years they have been trying to avoid it. It is the power of the state itself which is ensuring that the revolution is becoming not only necessary (it would have been necessary in 1945) but also conceivable—

even if, for the foreseeable future, it remains impossible. And it was not the writers but the students who first faced up to the alternative and who bear its scars. In the Berlin police pogroms in the summer of this year the first nuclei of a revolutionary-minded opposition were formed; and it is the students who have begun to build up a political underground press.

In international terms the significance of these trends is infinitesimally small, almost non-existent. It is in the nature of their psychology that they should overestimate themselves and in the nature of their opponents' psychology that, as outsiders, they should underestimate them. As for the writers, who for the past twenty years have felt themselves to be the exponents of a radical opposition, the majority of them have a long way to go before they realize the extent either of their defeat or of the political demands which will be made on them in years to come. (In this report we are in any case considering only those authors who recognize some sort of connexion between their work and the political conditions obtaining in the country; there have always been authors, there were even in 1947, who refused to accept any form of political responsibility.) The Federal Republic will no doubt discover its John Wains and Kingsley Amises. To the extent to which politics takes them at their word and opposition is transformed from a sincere into a dangerous business the way of least resistance may be expected to unfold all its charms.

Once again it seems as if there are dark times ahead for Germany. One aspect of this darkness, certainly not the worst, is the fact that German literature will no longer constitute a fools' paradise for opposition writers.

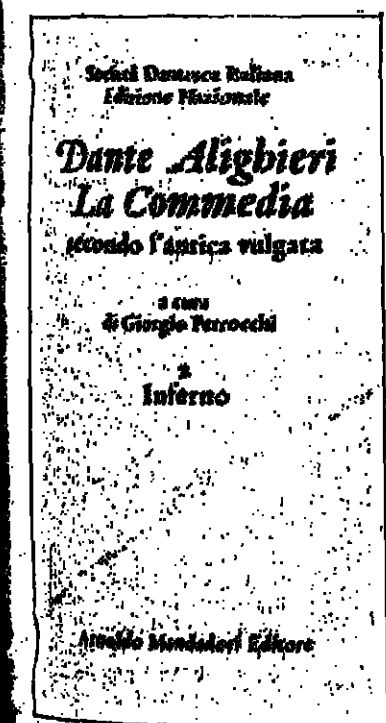
At present we cannot even begin to guess at the kind of consequences which will be generated in literature by the new phase which is now entering. Not everyone who opts for revolution will follow the path taken by Peter Weiss; it is by any means certain that the particular consequence will be different in a literary sense to the one which it generates. In as far as we may speak of the "radicalization" of its authors it must be said that the trend has produced no radically new forms of writing. The resolution between the requirements of the concept of "commitment" and the requirements of literary art is further off than ever. Even if the police baton in our streets and total consensus in parliament Germany will no doubt continue to produce subtle and sophisticated prose-writers for a time to come. History will not repeat itself; it is hardly likely that Hitler's experiments with literature will be tried out again. Our governments are not likely to be as peace and order (i.e., the police reign on the streets. But that is consolation; it merely demonstrates the political irrelevance of the writer's and the painter's practice. The days of a diffuse, semi-conscious literary opposition, which was prepared to turn a blind eye as necessary, are over. Perhaps the no great loss. But the prospect of German politics and for German literature, and above all for the relationship between literature and politics in Germany, are bleak.

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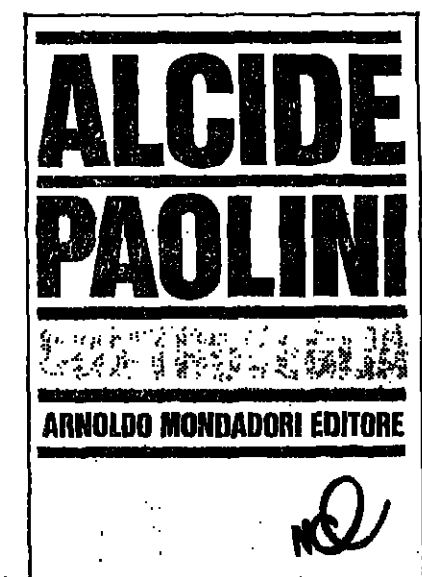
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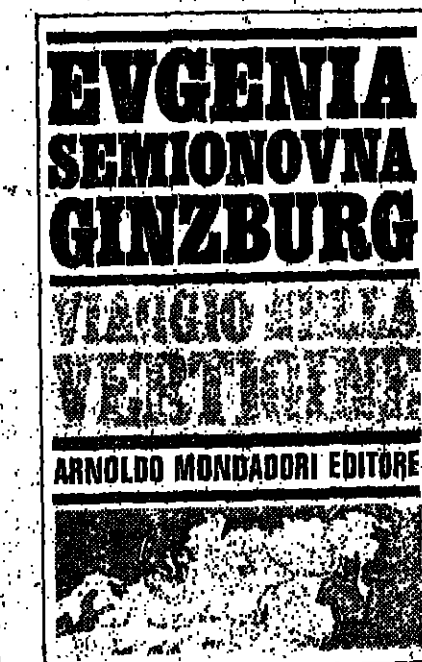
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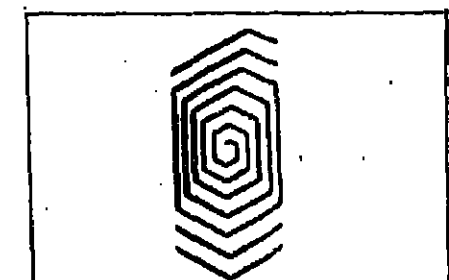
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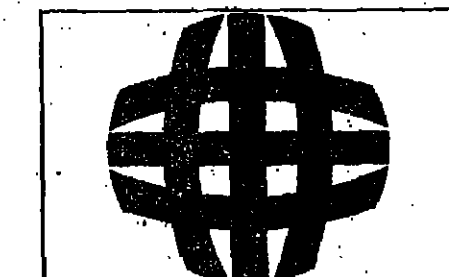
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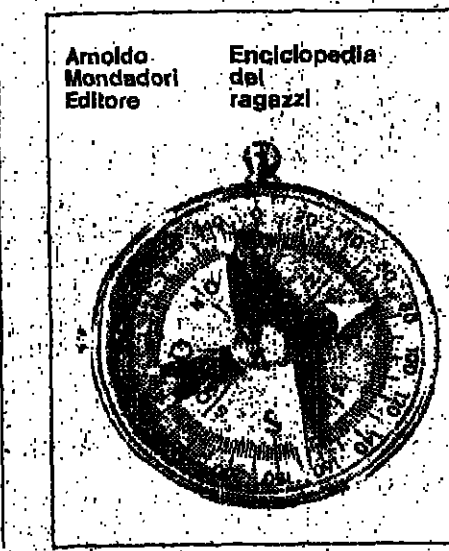
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## German Politics

## THE JUDGES AND THE NAZIS

HEINRICH and ELISABETH HANNOVER: *Politische Justiz 1918-1933*. Frankfurt: Fischer Bücherei. DM.4.80. WERNER JOHE: *Die gleichgeschaltete Justiz*. 258pp. Frankfurt: Europäische. DM.22. ILSE STAFF: *Justiz im Dritten Reich*. 265pp. Frankfurt: Fischer Bücherei. DM.3.80.

That Germany's judiciary contributed to the demise of the Weimar Republic and lent its name and support to the Nazi regime is not new. Contemporaries denounced the partiality of the judges; postwar scholarship has acknowledged its significance. Since Otto Kirchheimer's profound analysis of its history and meaning the term political justice—a justice administered for the accomplishment of particular ideological or political ends—has assumed a permanent place in our historical vocabulary. But so far a detailed examination of the role of the German judges was lacking, and it is the achievement of these young German historians to have supplied it.

The legal profession, by its very nature, is conservative. But the conservatism of the German judiciary—under Empire, Republic, or Hitler—was strikingly homogeneous, decidedly nationalist and often monarchist. The German system derived from the Prussian judiciary of the eighteenth century. It drew its members from ranking civil servants, younger sons of landowners, and wealthy bourgeoisie. These young men were trained at the prestigious north German universities, where they heard the same professors and belonged to the same fraternities. When they entered their profession they thought of themselves as members of a caste and stewards of a professional ethos—impartiality and independence of judgment.

At home in the Empire they found themselves estranged from the Republic. This was the government which had lost the war, disowned the Kaiser, and signed a shameful peace treaty. The judges looked with thinly veiled approval on the machinations of anti-republican forces. In their adjudication they applied a notorious double standard: Jews and leftist offenders could expect severe sentences; nationalists and monarchists were shown marked leniency. Solidarity and extenuating circumstances were granted the assassins of republicans and politicians who declined to have mercy in the interest of the fatherland, whereas socialist critics (Ostapitzky) were found guilty of treason and sent to prison. The judges still believing devoutly in their independence and impartiality, were constantly misinterpreting the

legal statutes and teetering precariously between abstract justice and political bias.

Heinrich and Elisabeth Hannover recount cases ranging from simple slander to high treason—each an example of perverted justice. They draw their evidence primarily from contemporary pamphlets and legal journals. They have assembled a vast amount of material on the more prominent distortions of justice in the Weimar period, and as a source the book will be useful. However, the book is offered not simply as a source but as an argument—an argument which is now familiar and to which they contribute nothing new. We still lack an analysis of Weimar justice which sees the abuses in their proper political context. The judicial decisions abetted the enemies of the Republic, compromised the dignity of the state in the public mind, and damaged the public morality which the judiciary is pledged to uphold.

As Nazism came to prominence, and then to power, its nationalist sentiments attracted the support of many judges, and its insistence on legality blinded them to its basic lawlessness. This early sympathy greatly facilitated the task of the Nazi rulers; the judges acquiesced in the decrees which removed republicans and Jews from their ranks, and they had few compunctions about applying Hitler's new laws. The Nazis, however, were not content with sympathy; they moved to synchronize the judiciary with the new order. Werner Johe has done an exemplary job in showing the stages of Gleichschaltung. With much care and perspicacity he traces the fate of the judiciary from initial compromise to its ultimate degeneration into mere facade. Having acquiesced at the outset the judges were in no position to protest when the regime deprived them of their functions and finally of their formal independence.

The Staff covers much the same ground, but she is more general and consequently often superficial. By concentrating on the judicial district of Hamburg, Herr Johe can be far more detailed and precise. Frau Staff gives the impression that the submission of the judiciary was sudden and total, without nuance; whereas, as Herr Johe demonstrates, it was slow, often

painful. The innate conservatism and positivist heritage of the judges rebelled when the Nazis insisted that justice be interpreted as "what benefits the people". The judges sought to retain what remained of their independence, but it was too late. The

Nazis took extraordinary measures in all politically sensitive cases; they circulated guidelines for the interpretation of laws and took official exception to decisions; they set up special courts for cases dealing with Jews, gypsies, Poles, traitors, &c.; they

## RECONCILIATIONS

ARNOLD BRECHT: *Aus Nächster Nähe*. Lebenserinnerungen. Vol. I, 1884-1927. 526pp. Mft. de des Geistes. Vol. II, 1927-1967. 496pp. Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt. DM.38. each.

GERHARD SCHULZ: *Revolutionen und Friedensschlüsse 1917-1920*. 301pp. Munich: DTV. DM.3.80.

Arnold Brecht's two great volumes of recollections deserve more attention than their great length makes it probable that they will get, at least in this country. He was born in Lübeck in 1884 and his first volume covers his life up to 1927. Here he was brought up in the rare atmosphere of an old Hanse town, the one which also bred Thomas and Heinrich Mann. For the first thirty years of his life, that is until the beginning of the First World War, Arnold Brecht seemed unconcerned by political issues; as he says, he had no feeling of personal responsibility before 1914. He completed the usual legal training of a German official, began as a *Hilfsrichter* in Lübeck in 1910 but was rapidly transferred to the Reichsjustizamt in Berlin. In October, 1918, his life was transformed by a summons from the new Chancellor, Prince-Max of Baden, to work with him in the Reichskanzlei.

Professor Brecht was an open-minded man, intelligent and conscientious, who thus became an important official in the Weimar Republic. He was a man who, like his friend and contemporary Theodor Heuss, accepted the new order without illusions but with conviction. His recollections, written with simplicity and scrupulous should be first-rate material for all those concerned with the history of the Weimar Republic. He was able to observe Brecht's rather naive Joseph Wirth, all of them close quarters, and he gives fascinating descriptions of people are quite remarkable. Of particular historical significance is his account of an in-

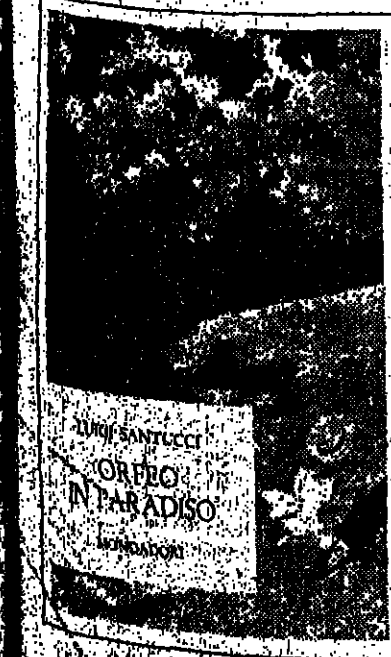
terview with Pöhner, the Police President, as he was called, of Munich, when Professor Brecht was sent by the then Chancellor, Fehrenbach, to Bavaria in February, 1921, to try to reduce Bavarian resistance to disarmament. Pöhner's remarks on this occasion were very nearly 100 per cent Nazi. Professor Brecht went on to see Hitler, then thirty-one, who made no impression on him.

The second volume of these memoirs is more confused because in November, 1933, the author accepted an academic invitation to America; he has spent most of his subsequent life there. He left Germany, not because he was a Jew or a Marxist—he was neither—but because, for a former democratic official, life in Germany had become intolerable. But of course the last six years there were of unusual interest and are eloquently recorded. Fritz Ebert, Otto Braun and Carl Severing all come to life in these pages. Professor Brecht was deeply involved in the strange problem of the relation of Prussia and the Reich which was almost like the wound of Ephraim. It helped the enemies of Weimar to destroy the Republic. It only ended with the declaration in 1947 that Prussia had ceased to exist. But for a man like Professor Brecht Prussia had been cardinal, not because he admired its militarism—far from it—but because, as he says, even in his day Prussia served to link the still inadequately integrated west and east of Germany. The technique of ruling Prussia consisted above all, Professor Brecht holds, in reconciling the conflicting claims of west and east. And then Prussia, unlike the Reich, had a surprisingly stable government with

annulled judgments which they considered too lenient, and therefore dismissed judges who disagreed with them. By 1943 "guided justice" was a fact and independence a protest. Judiciary and political leaders were at one.

### NARRATORI ITALIANI

Books recently published: 'Il doge' by Aldo Palazzeschi, 'Orfeo in paradiso' by Luigi Santucci, 'L'abito' by Piero Chiara, 'Tappeto volante' by Francesco Leoni, 'Rapporto segreto' by Riccardo Bacchelli, 'La bambolona' by Aldo de Cespedes, 'Noi credevamo' by Anna Banfi.



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novel" with this movement. In all this there is a combination of extremely complex phenomena which would merit discussion in another article. It is also further evidence of the tendency which I mentioned above, of philosophy to abandon any attempt to direct the scientific study of man.

The second point to which I should like to draw attention is not entirely foreign to the movement I have just been speaking of but has arisen completely independently. As a symbol and symptom of this I should like to take as an example a study group of which I was a founder-member (once again I have to quote myself) with a "scientist", François Le Lionnais. I am speaking of the Ouvroir de Littérature Potentielle

(Workroom for Potential Literature), the so-called Oulipo, which, since 1960, has been working towards the discovery of new or revived literary forms, this research being inspired by an interest in mathematics. Its aim could be described as the foundation of a new kind of rhetoric, a new rhetoric which, nowadays, could not possibly do without mathematics.

This is not, it must be added, a question of trespassing on forbidden ground. The poet has always been arithmetical at least on elementary arithmetic. If he wants to write an alexandrine he must be able to count up to twelve; for a sonnet, up to fourteen, and for a sonnet in alexandrine up to 168. There is a ready-made answer to the argument that few poets, these days, bother with

writing sonnets and alexandrines; this is, that we can suggest that they do something else. The American mathematician A. A. Mullin (quite independently of the Oulipo) has recently suggested the generalized tanka, which raises the problem of the division of prime numbers into the prime number of all prime numbers. The sextina, a form used by Arnaut Daniel at the end of the twelfth century and Dante, when generalized, also raises an interesting and unusual problem in connexion with the theory of groups.

The work of the Oulipo started with several more or less automatic techniques which consisted of transforming texts and making inventories of old forms and processes. The analysis of cryptograms, acrostics, and so on,

should also, in my opinion, enrich the new rhetoric in the same way as the various sorts of brain-teasers have led to the creation of the theory of probability, of topology and of game-theory. So far, all the work of the Oulipo has been concerned with the syntactic aspect of literature: it is now moving in the direction of its semantic aspects (in which we have had precursors such as Propertius and the Russian Formalists). Apart from the French, among others who are working in this field I should like to mention the German school of Max Bense, even though it is more specifically "experimental", where we reject anything we consider random. Finally, we can say that we have already gone beyond the stage of pure research, and that several works in-

spired by this new rhetoric have appeared or will soon appear. All this goes to show, then, that there is a renewal of the contact between science and literature, it is because "science" has now incorporated the social sciences. Literature, even less can it remain indifferent to it. Finally, it is all the time becoming more evident that the system which comprises the sciences is not linear (Mathematics - Physics - Biology - Anthropology), but that it is circular, and that the social sciences are intimately linked to mathematics. It is quite clear, therefore, that there is nothing to stop Poetry taking place in the centre, without thereby losing anything of its specificity.

## Science

# MEASURE FOR MEASURE'S SAKE

RAYMOND BOURDON: *L'Analyse mathématique des faits sociaux*. 464pp. Paris: Plon. 25fr.

A famous philosopher of science, Thomas Kuhn, writing on quantification in physics, informs his readers that the façade of the Social Science Research Building at Chicago University bears Lord Kelvin's dictum, "If you cannot measure, your knowledge is meagre and unsatisfactory". He later goes on to quote with evident approval the comment made that the practical meaning given to the dictum by social scientists tends to be "if you cannot measure, measure anyhow". This in some ways typifies the reaction of the natural scientist and the mathematician to the often frenetic attempts of social scientists to achieve quantification. This desire for quantification has been motivated by several considerations—to make possible the use of powerful mathematical and statistical methods for the analysis of research findings, to provide a basis for the construction of quantitative theories and to assist in the establishment of law-like propositions about social phenomena. All this, it was thought, meant that social data must be mapped on to the real number system, and very many examples that are now quoted as historical warnings of "pseudo-quantification" were thought at the time to have achieved this desirable level of measurement. On the other hand it is undeniable that there has also been a semi-conscious desire to emulate the more "advanced" sciences, and thus obtain greater scientific kudos.

In the past, mathematically-inclined sociologists' efforts have not only met with little mathematical encouragement, but they have also encountered principled opposition within the discipline. Despite the long history of "political arithmetic" in Britain and the work of such sociologists as Quetelet in France, and despite the imaginative use of statis-

tics by Durkheim, such efforts were frequently deemed to be inappropriate to sociology, and incompatible with the *verstehende* sociology of Max Weber.

But three recent approaches have revolutionized the whole subdiscipline. The first important development was the codification and formalization of the procedures involved in the social sample survey (which was then a new scientific tool), associated especially with American sociologists and with Paul F. Lazarsfeld in particular. After this, attention was increasingly turned to the general nature of empirical inference in sociology and this frequently took the form of developing probabilistic models for the analysis of quantitative data. This approach has now reached a high degree of sophistication and has widened to include much more general problems. Secondly, rapid advances which have occurred in psychometrics, associated especially with Clyde Coombs (which are often concerned with measurement at lower levels than the real number system) have been given direct application in sociology, and have provided the social researcher with a considerable armoury of formal tools. Thirdly, developments in mathematics itself, as well as in computing science, have been found to be readily interpretable in sociological terms; such areas as graph theory (see especially C. Berge's *Théorie des graphes et ses applications* and *Structural Models* by F. Harary and others), game theory (see *Game Theory and Related Approaches to Social Behaviour*, edited by M. Shubik and *Prisoner's Dilemma* by A. Rapoport and A. C. Chantman) and matrix algebra (see Paul Hathi's *Matrix Algebra for Social Scientists*) have all provided useful paradigms

for sociological models and research methods. In addition to these three developments there has been a rapid increase in attempts at formal theory construction, in developing mathematical models, in the use of the electronic computer for the simulation of social processes and in the use of the new information-processing disciplines to mirror social and psychological processes.

It is sobering to remember that almost all these advances have occurred in the past two decades, and that the majority have only been implemented in the past few years. In spite of this increase, there has been a rather slower growth in the number of articles and texts devoted to the area, and it has long been the complaint of those attempting to come to grips with the subject that there was no text that covered the area in any systematic fashion. Over the past few years such texts have begun to appear, and these are best represented by *An Introduction to Mathematical Sociology* by James Coleman, and P. F. Lazarsfeld and N. W. Henry's edition of *Readings in Mathematical Social Science*.

Raymond Bourdon has worked with Dr. Lazarsfeld and with many others who have pioneered the sub-discipline, and has himself been active in the development of mathematical sociology. His *L'Analyse mathématique des faits sociaux* makes a worthy and worthwhile companion to the previous works. It will prove to be an extremely valuable reference book for the reasonably numerate sociologists, and it will also provide a representative introduction to the subject for those outside sociology. To the less numerate sociologist and to the non-mathematically-inclined reader generally, it serves well as a justifi-

cation of formal approaches in the study of social phenomena, and it may be here that its chief value lies. The subject-matter of such a book should be presented in such a way that those unfamiliar with the field will feel that the rewards justify the devotion of valuable time and effort necessary to cope with the formal apparatus. M. Bourdon succeeds admirably in doing just this, and there is even an air of excitement and freshness in the way his material is presented.

The book is divided into four parts. The first part (covering preliminary epistemological problems, the analysis of concomitant variation and the analysis of complex causal structures) is probably the most elementary and most easily readable portion of the book. It contains little that is radically new, and concentrates mainly on the analysis of qualitative interrelations in survey material. Coleman's formalization of conditional probabilities, and the Simon-Blaug models for inference of causal relations among correlated variables. In the second part, attention is focused upon particular problems of causal analysis, and here M. Bourdon skillfully uses McGill's work in multivariate information transmission as a method for causal inference and measurement.

The third section is concerned entirely with dimensional analysis and typology construction, and draws heavily on recent work in the evolution of probabilistic models of measurement, and types of non-metric factor analysis. Much of this work will be new even to many of those who keep up with developments in scaling and measurement, and it indicates in a dramatic way how this area has been revolutionized, and how the classical problems of pseudo-quantifi-

cation are being attacked and re-motivated.

Let it be thought that mathematical sociology is limited to state analysis, and neglects the analysis of change and process, the last part is concerned entirely with models of social processes. Many such models are stochastic, being founded basically on Markov chain analysis. Such models are commonly used in many disciplines, and it is no surprise to see them applied to changes in attitude, social behaviour and such phenomena as occupational mobility. Rather less frequently known models are also dealt with—including the applications of latent structure models, net-theory models of diffusion, as well as models based upon the Person distribution and its contingency relatives.

M. Bourdon finishes the book with what may be the most promising development in mathematical sociology—the testing and development of theories by the use of simulation techniques, exploiting both digital and analogue computers, and also provides an extensive bibliography of relevant work.

The existence of a discipline of sociology, which can happily map both history and mathematics, plays a critical role in preventing the polarization of the arts and sciences, and the obvious application of the concepts and methods of the "mathematics" in sociology provides some justification for this approach—for those who need it.

Quantitative sociology may become it will always be *ad hoc*, and it need not fear that it will in any way be emasculated by the increasing use of formal methods. M. Bourdon's work plays an important role in development, and one can only hope that it is quickly translated into English.

J. F. SCOTT (Editor): *The Correspondence of Isaac Newton*. Vol. IV: 1694-1709. 578pp. Cambridge University Press (for the Royal Society). £11 11s.

The hunt is on! With ever-increasing pace and excitement the new breed of professional historians of science is daily laying bare fresh aspects of the thought and achievement of that most complex and profound of scientific thinkers, Isaac Newton. No longer will the pious platitudes suffice. No longer can Newton be seen in his Victorian dress as "high priest of science" (Sir David Brewster's phrase). No more can we be content with Ernst Mach's vision of a knight in shining armour, riding forth to do battle for positivism under the banner "hypotheses non fingo". The serious examination of the great mind of Newton manuscripts still extant (perhaps as much as four million words) has put paid to all that. And each fresh insight into Newton's own formulation of his classic contributions to science adds to the exhilarating yet sobering realization of the depth, range, complexity and ambiguity of the man.

The *Catalogue of the Portsmouth Collection* of Newton manuscripts was published as long ago as 1882. Its message fell on deaf ears. The lack of interest in the history of this subject so unfortunately characteristic of the present century and the distrust of science so typical of the historians, ensured the neglect of this rich source. The 1959 publication of volume I of the Royal Society's edition of Newton's *Correspondence* came therefore as an eye-opener to this learned world.

To the fledgling profession of historian of science it was little short of a revelation: a revelation which received wholehearted response. The challenge of such a mass of unexplored manuscript relating to so central a scientific thinker, had to be taken up. Isaac Newton has thus become the professional obsession of the 1960s (and of the 1970s too, judging by present attitudes).

Scarcely a week passes without a fresh article on Newton in one of the learned journals. In recent months their subjects have ranged from Newton's ideas on comets and thoughts about "the world's decay", through his use of hypotheses and the metaphysical assumptions underlying his scientific beliefs, and on to his relationship to a *prince theologian* tradition in English thought. If we turn to books, actual or projected, the scene is no less lively. The 1960s have already seen extensive manuscript-based discussions of Newton's physical theories by the Professor of Physics at the University of Cambridge, and of his historical writings by Professor Montuori. Earlier this year Dr. D. T. Whiteside published the first of his two volumes of *The Newton Manuscripts*. The second volume, which threatens to become an significant part of Newton's *Mathematical Papers*, is the *Correspondence*, now up to volume IV. It is a work, not enough to brag of, for it is Harvard has in progress. On the Viles lectures on Isaac Newton, the

creative scientific mind at work", as well as his long-awaited variorum *Principia*, while Professor Quine of Cornell is at work on a variorum edition of the *Opticks*. And soon there will be the record of the 1966 Newton conference to contend with. This conference, organized with typical flamboyance by the University of Texas, drew leading Newton scholars from all parts of the world. Its *Proceedings* promise yet further insights to any scholar able to stay aloft amid such a flood of publications.

Yet, strangely, serious gaps will remain in our knowledge even when the present wave of publication has subsided. There is no sign of the sorely needed *Open Aristotle*. Continental scholars may point proudly to their multi-volume editions of the works of Galileo, Huygens, Leibniz, or Descartes, only with embarrassment can English scholars refer to Samuel Haysley's aged and deficient (but unreplicated) 1979 edition of Newton's collected works. Again, there is little prospect of a reliable edition of the great mass of chemical, theological and historical manuscripts. One day these manuscripts will have to be tackled, and listed in a series fit to stand beside Whiteside's currently proceeding edition of the mathematical papers. In the meantime the partly completed *Correspondence* must be our guide in the variety of Newton's interests, the complexities of his char-

acter, and the chronology of his intellectual development.

This edition of the hitherto widely scattered and largely unpublished correspondence is the eventual fruit of a suggestion made as far back as 1904: a suggestion finally given life by the 1947 Newton tercentenary celebration. Under the guidance of a distinguished editorial committee and the able editorship of Professor Turnbull, volumes I to III appeared in time for the Royal Society's own tercentenary in 1960. The project, unhappily delayed by Professor Turnbull's death, is now at length under way again with the appearance of volume IV. The editorship has been taken on by Dr. J. F. Scott, who worked with Turnbull on the early volumes and is thus well fitted to complete the task.

Like its predecessors, the new volume is a delight to handle. Beautifully printed and carefully produced, it reflects great credit on its editor and on the University Press that so lovingly made it. Here we have displayed almost 300 letters and related writings by or to (or sometimes just about Newton). They range in time from 1694 to 1709, and in subject-matter from the tragically decaying relations with Flamsteed to the slowly festering dispute with Leibniz, from the projected 1690s revision of the *Principia* to the eventual 1704 publication of the *Opticks*. Truly

a rich diet, and one that surely reveals just why Newton so intrigued, dazzled and bewitched his contemporaries.

With such a fascinating task before him, it is a pity that Dr. Scott did not draw more heavily on the results of recent Newtonian scholarship. Instead he takes a conservative, and at times almost prim, view of his subject. The coverage given to different topics in the commentary is markedly uneven, and some figures far better than others. As an elucidation-by-footnote, it is concerned. Dr. Scott has also abandoned the practice of the earlier volumes which gave useful tabulated information about where, if anywhere, letters had been published. But all these are only minor criticisms of a volume so long awaited, so sorely needed, so excellently produced, and so endlessly fascinating. As always it is easy to think of Newton's views on gravity as plain truth is that he believed it to be: omnipresent in space, in a literal sense, and so the direct cause of gravity. Thus simply did Newton avoid all the difficulties and subtleties of later other-mechanics and quantum assistance theorists. As English text, it is a somewhat different matter. Unfortunately, Newton's childhood of science

## 25 years ago we went into exile

Twenty-five years ago, Pantheon Books, New York, began to publish. Its beginning was the continuation of decades of European publishing, in Germany, France and Italy; an attempt to maintain in the U.S.A. a culture whose future seemed far from assured.

During its early years Pantheon published, in English and sometimes in French and German, much of the European writing that had never become known in the U.S.A. and some that was being written even then, in exile or underground. The list was exceptional, ranging from Berenson to Broch, Claudel to Camus, Gide to Maritain.

In the years that followed, Pantheon reached a wider public as the publisher of such European works as Dr. Zhivago, *The Leopard*, and the American Anne Morrow Lindbergh.

In the last five years Pantheon has concentrated on finding the authors, wherever they might be, who could describe and interpret the culture that has come to link Europe and America. Many of the books described below are the results of this co-operation; part of a common pursuit largely by this postwar generation to cope with the problems that threaten us all.

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**A REPORT FROM A FRENCH VILLAGE**—Edgar Morin

**REPORT FROM A GERMAN TOWN**—Jurgen Neuen-Dumont

**REPORT FROM AN ENGLISH VILLAGE**—Ronald Blythe

Work has begun on other reports from Russia, Greenland, India, Japan, eastern Europe and other countries in the third world. *Division Street: America* and some of the other reports will be published in Great Britain by Penguin Books (appearing first in hardcover under the Allen Lane imprint), in Germany by Nymphenburger, in Sweden by Norstedt, in Denmark by Gyldendal, in France by Fayard, and in Italy by Mondadori.

### Books from Europe

Choosing only from the most recent years, here is a sample of books from Europe Pantheon has published or is about to publish (marked \*).

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**CHINESE JOURNEY**—Gun Kessle and Jan Myrdal

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**PORTRAIT OF THE THIRD REICH**—Joachim J. Fest

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**OBSTACLES**—Reinhold Lettau  
**END OF THE GAME**—Julio Cortázar  
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**THE LEVITOWNS**—Herbert J. Gans

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**THE POORHOUSE STATE**—Richard M. Elman  
**CONGRESSMAN FROM MISSISSIPPI**—Frank Smith

**THE SCHOOLCHILDREN**—Mary F. Greene and Orlette Ryan  
**THE PETITIONERS**—Loren Miller  
**SOUTHERN JUSTICE**—Leon Friedman

**On American Arts**  
**FOUR LIVES IN THE BEOP. BUSINESS**—A. B. Spellman  
**WHERE'S THE MELODY?**—Martin Williams

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Fiction

NO FUN-FAIR

JUAN GOYTISOLO: *Señas de identidad*. 483pp. Mexico: Joaquín Mortiz.

In recent years, Juan Goytisolo's work as a novelist has seemed to belie his earlier promise. Certain passages in his new novel could be interpreted to mean that he acknowledges this himself, and has therefore taken the important step (perhaps the final one) in his self-imposed alienation from Spain) of publishing this personal and outspoken book. But whatever the explanation, the result is a fine and moving novel, in a class apart from even the best of Señor Goytisolo's previous work.

The narrator-protagonist of *Señas de identidad*—who is Juan Goytisolo in everything but some circumstantial details—has decided that the exploration and definition of his own identity, and of how it was formed, constitute a testimony which serves to survive. He also feels a duty, as he puts it, not to forget, not to be silent, but to bear witness. The definition is made mainly in terms of relationships—family, friends, class, and above all his identity as a member of a nation. A complex pattern of personal memories eventually resolves itself into a brilliant, original and utterly convincing view of a society which at the end of the novel the narrator decides to abandon for good.

Although Señor Goytisolo is sickened by the brutality and injustice of Franco's regime, his indictment goes deeper than that of a mere political enemy. His compassion for Spain's eternally hopeless, helpless poor, doomed to suffer senselessly and to die without ever having lived in any meaningful way, is the simple cause of his furious rejection of his own upper-middle class, the eternal bosses, complacent and indestructible, with their unerring instinct for selecting champions, like God and General Franco, who depend on this class for survival and can be depended on to protect it from any insubordination among its victims.

The indictment is all the more persuasive for being neither crudely polemical nor self-righteous. One of the best things in the novel is the tragicomic account of Spanish exiles in Paris, which demonstrates the narrator's clear recognition that his own rebellion and exile amounted in the end to an agreeably bohemian idleness which contrasted shamefully with the lives of some of his friends, with similar views who chose the harder course of staying in Spain.

The narrator's memories are related in a cleverly ordered variety of styles. Aspects of the past are reconstructed in an ingenious kind of collage of direct observation, fragments of newspaper articles, police reports, isolated conversations and incidents, and some interior monologue in a free verse form. A rich interplay of suggestion makes commentary superfluous. A massacre of Andalusian peasants by the Civil Guard in 1936, for instance, is interwoven with a *fiesta* in 1958 in the same town, where this time the peasants kill a bull with singular cruelty. A complex pattern of personal memories eventually resolves itself into a brilliant, original and utterly convincing view of a society which at the end of the novel the narrator decides to abandon for good.

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PRIZEWORTHY

VICENTE SOTO: *La zancada*. 366pp. Barcelona: Destino. 125pts.  
The Premio Nadal has gone too often to young novelists of indifferent talent and doubtful promise. On this occasion, however, the jury has enhanced the prestige of the prize by awarding it to a really outstanding first novel written by Vicente Soto at the age of forty-seven.

*La zancada* is an account of five months in the life of a thirteen-year-old boy and his family in a small eastern Spanish town in the 1920s, at the moment when Gabrielito grows suddenly from childhood to adolescence. Señor Soto explores the deep, hidden springs of ordinary behaviour, and the intense urgency of his quest for total understanding of these people can leave the reader exhausted and reeling from pages of withheld truth and ever more refined analysis.

The point of view is not strictly speaking the child's, but the grown man's, as he recalls and interprets what happened to him and around him in his childhood. The main, the author, is engaged in constant conversation with the reader about how he ought to tell the story now; all the time he hesitates, doubts, jumps backwards and forwards, explains—sometimes in footnotes—why he has written a certain passage in a certain way, even gives us glimpses of the circumstances of the novel's composition (on a mushroom farm in Hertfordshire, for the most part). The technique, which thus described might sound tiresome, is in fact extraordinarily convincing. There are signs in this novel that Señor Soto may well establish himself as a major novelist.

TELL ME ANOTHER

T. PICTON-WARLOW: *O.E.* 256pp. Gollancz. 25s.  
merely banish what slight traces of verisimilitude the more realistic passages might have possessed.

WOMANLY

Imre Sarkadi: *The Coward and Other Stories*. 148pp. Budapest: Corvina Press. London: Corgi Press. 12s. 6d.  
Imre Sarkadi killed himself in 1961, aged forty. "The Coward", the longest story in this volume, is markedly the best: a careful account of a conventional twentieth-century intellectual love-affair followed by the despairing acceptance of degradation. In this, as in another story of a racketeer's wife prostituting herself for the completion of a business deal, Sarkadi chose to write freely from the woman's point of view. The result is a detached, documentary presentation. Sarkadi's essential problem seems to have been that of the character of his best biographer, he believed in high ideals and tragic themes, but he was restrained by an unwilling cynicism about motives.

SO IT WAS

LUIGI MENEGHELLO: *The Obsession*. Translated by Raleigh Trevelyan. 237pp. Michael Joseph.

As literary Italians tended to be fascists, and anti-fascists to be fascists, the postwar partisan struggle became a minor Italian industry in most political colours, deep from palest pink, and the century-old partisan atmosphere a time when everything seemed once desperate and open to a kind of future marvel and hope. Italian than the attitudes of non-combatants or once-combatants, let alone of anyone connected with the discredited, ruling regime.

Luigi Meneghello's autobiographical story of the Venetian resistance is unusual in its gaiety and high spirits. It is a story of a boy he was then, flung into a size adventure and learning by death. Much of the comedy getting the humour across is in the tone, which is a model of what a thing should be—easy, graceful, funny as if it were an original piece of writing, yet never losing its sense of the grim and bloody prison, where generations of victims were tortured and murdered by the agents of generations of the same old ruling class, now grotesquely converted into a fun-fair for tourists, the new generation of victims degraded now not by brutality but by the erosion of rulers, the buffoons (or worse) of the hallowed foreign visitor. The vision captures brilliantly the nightmare quality of the 25 Years of Peace, and ends with words that might serve as their motto, in four languages: INTRODUCE THE COIN.

In fragments and snatches the narrator builds up a rich picture of actual youngsters whose lives were starved of truth, catching up late but excitedly, growing sudden freedom that is terrifying, marvellous, civilized outlook, an uncivilized world, but supremely in values they were lost in the workaday postwar. "It seems strange now," Meneghello writes, "but so it was." And he lives him. His is a moving book, a valuable one: factual, vivid, spherically convincing; it brings the time with wonderful exactness.

POLE AXED

W. S. KUNICZAK: *The Storm Hour Day*. 628pp. St. Martin's Warburg. £2 2s.

W. S. Kuniczak was still a child during the September of 1938, but he makes sure that the details of the account of the destruction of his home are correct. He spent two years collecting material, and consulted people. Then, in a further two years, he wrote his 380,000-word novel, much time given to the actual writing, little time given to the actual writing. *The Storm Hour Day* is a novel which is probably the best of its kind, a varied story of a good family, such moving historical tales as the defence of Westerplatte or the cavalry charge at Chelimo tell themselves: "simple, one-dimensional characters are quickly understood, that subtly does not impede narrative movement." The reader offered a pleasant vision of a man's world of courage, a gnomic utterance. It is a tribute to Mr. Kuniczak's dedication to his hero, a country that one does not want to see while reading, such treatment, actually, the tragedy of Poland.

General Prus, a one-time hero, manfully abandoned his ruined mistress at the call of a hard-boiled, soft-centred American correspondent who began her affair with her before the siege of Warsaw. He had hoped to take on a quiet life in his country. Their plan was to have a son to put pressure on the father when the boy came to public suicide, and the powerful sense of honour, the hated troops fighting, in the utter defeat, until, with one soldier, he crosses the border to continue the fight abroad.

PHILOSOPHY AND LITERATURE

By Italo Calvino

The relationship between philosophy and literature is a prolonged contest. The philosopher pierces the mystery of the world, nullifies the existing to a spider's web, fixes the rules by which a number of pawns moving upon a chessboard works out a possibly infinite number of combinations. They come the writers and replace the chessmen by kings and knights, with particular shapes, with complete sets of attributes, royal or peasant, in place of the chessboard, they present dusty battlefields or empty seas; and so the rules of the game are thrown to the winds, and in order different from that of the philosopher allows itself gradually to be discovered. And the discovery of these new rules of the game, again, none other than the philosopher, returning to recover his position and to demonstrate that the operation performed by the philosopher is reducible to an operation of their own kind, that the decisive moves, never anglicizing its atmosphere as it were. "Go to sleep," Socrates says to her, and she falls, I think, asleep. It is full of phrases as neatly piled as that "I think," and one has a sense of an author and translator in total pathy.

In the same way a philosophy too heavily clothed in human flesh, too sensitive to the immediate and to life as it is lived, constitutes a less exciting challenge for literature than the abstraction of metaphysics or pure logic. Phenomenology and existentialism lie side by side with literature across frontiers that are not always clearly marked. Can the philosopher-writer take a fresh philosophical look at the world, which is at the same time a fresh literary look? For a moment, when the protagonist of *La Nausée* is observing his own face in the glass, this may be possible; but throughout the main part of his work the philosopher-writer appears as

a philosopher who has at his service a writer versatile to the point of eclecticism. The literature of existentialism failed to make progress because it did not succeed in acquiring a proper literary rigour. Only when the writer writes before the philosopher who interprets him will literary rigour serve as a model to philosophical rigour: even if writer and philosopher coexist in the same person. This holds good not only for Dostoevsky and for Kafka but also for Camus and Genet.

The names of Dostoevsky and Kafka bring us to the two greatest examples in which the authority of the writer—that is, the power to transmit an unmistakable message through a special intonation of language and a special distortion of the human figure and of situations—is combined with the authority of the thinker at the highest level. This also means that the "Dostoevsky man" and the "Kafka man" have changed man's image even for those who have no particular inclination for the philosophy which lies—more or less explicitly—behind this representation. On this level of authority, the writer of our own time who can be placed beside these two is Samuel Beckett. The image of man that we form for ourselves today cannot but take into account the negative absoluteness of the "Beckett man".

It must be said that applying philosophical labels to writers (what is Hemingway? a behaviourist; what is Robbe-Grillet? an analytical philosopher) is a cocktail-party game whose unreality could be pardoned only if it were very witty, which it is not. How many times has the name of Wittgenstein been made use of in respect of writers who had nothing in common except the fact that they had nothing whatever to do with Wittgenstein! To establish who is

the writer of logical positivism might be a good theme for an international congress of the P.E.N. Club. As for structuralism, it is best, after the brilliant results attained in various fields, to await the establishment, in its case, both of a philosophy and of a literature.

The traditional ground for the meeting-place of philosophy and literature is ethics. Or rather, ethics has almost always provided an alibi, so that philosophy and literature shall not look each other straight in the face and shall remain sure and satisfied that they can easily find themselves in agreement in their common task of teaching virtue to mankind. This has been the literary misfortune of practical philosophies, especially of Marxism: to have, tagging along behind them, an illustrative, exhortatory literature, which aims at rendering the philosophical vision of the world natural and in conformity with spontaneous feelings. Hence the loss of the true revolutionary value of a philosophy, which consists entirely in prickings and frictions, in the upsetting of common sense and feelings, in doing violence to every way of "natural" thinking.

The description of Marxist writer perhaps applies only to Brecht, who, in contradiction to the official ethics and aesthetics of communism, did not pay attention to the surface of "realism" but to the logic of the internal mechanism of human relations, to the overturning of values, and displayed an anti-virtuist didacticism. Today—in Germany, in Italy, and also to some extent in France—in the literature of the "New Left" which descends from Marxism and rejects "realist" and pedagogic explanation, there exists a trend which continues to

regard Brecht as a master: because he was didactic, paradoxically and provocatively; a different trend holds that Marxism is and must be merely the consciousness of the hell in which we live, and that anyone who claims to indicate ways of escape lessens the power of this consciousness: revolutionary literature, for them, is simply the literature of absolute negation.

At the same time it now seems clear that, if it is true that the philosophers, having interpreted the world, must change it, it is equally true that, if they cease for a moment to interpret it, they no longer succeed in changing anything. Dogmatism has lost ground; the expectation of discovering some hidden truth in foreign ideologies today unites ex-sectarians and neo-existence.

From the point of greatest resistance this situation extends in all directions. It is beneath the sign of a voracious eclecticism that literature is taking an increasing interest in philosophy; and we can see writers of established tradition deriving inspiration by bringing their philosophical reading up to date, without the monochrome, uniform surface of their world becoming cracked. Philosophical study of the world can serve as much to confirm what we already know as to bring it to a crisis, independently of the philosophy that inspires us. Everything depends upon how the writer penetrates beneath the crust of things; Joyce projected upon a dreary beach the theological and ontological questions which he had learnt at school and which were remote from present-day preoccupations, but everything that he touched—worn-out shoes, fishes' eggs, pebbles—seemed to have its essential substance turned inside out. This stratigraphic analysis of

- Romans**  
ARAGON  
blanche ou l'oubli  
Léon ARÉGA  
le débarras  
Florence ASIE  
griserie  
Jean-Pierre ATTAL  
l'antagoniste  
Blaise BECK  
cou coupé court toujours  
Hélène BESETTE  
les petites lilihart  
Jean-Pierre CHABROL  
l'entière  
Marie-Madeleine CHANTAL  
les amants de tanger  
Catherine CLAUDE  
ciel blanc  
Maurice GRAMER  
acrobate en jaune  
avec un pélican  
Philippe CURVAL  
la forteresse de coton  
Marie-Laure DAVID  
l'échappée  
André DHOTEL  
lumineux, rentré chez lui  
Régis DUCHARME  
le nez qui voque  
Marguerite DURAS  
l'amante anglaise  
Maurice FRERE  
le temps  
d'une carte postale  
Jacques FURNET  
la défilante  
Romana GARY  
la danse de gengis cohn  
Gaston GASTON  
le refuge  
Pierre GUYOTAT  
tombeau pour  
500,000 soldats  
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mortemart  
Pierre HULIN  
les rentrées d'octobre  
Henriette JELINEK  
la marche du fou  
Joseph KESSEL  
les cavaliers  
Michèle KILDAIRE  
marie-les-bottines  
Michèle LACROSIL  
demain j'ai-herma  
Pascale LAINE  
b. comme barabbas  
Monique LANGE  
cannibales en sicile  
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le pont du nord  
Jacques-Gérard LINZE  
l'étang-cœur  
Jean LORBAIS  
le gratta-ciel  
Christian MÉGRET  
un agent double  
Claude OLLIER  
l'échec de nolan  
Charles PARON  
les vagues  
peuvent mourir  
Jérôme PEIGNOT  
l'amour à ses princes  
Hélène PERRIN  
la route étroite  
André  
PIÉRE de MANDIARGUES  
la marge  
Michel PLANCHON  
les amants  
de saint-guenolé

- Jules RAVELIN  
jeudi-cash  
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les aventures  
du général francoquin  
au pays  
des frères cyclopus  
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la chandelle  
François-Emmanuel  
SAURON  
douce innocente  
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ce qui restait à dire  
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1<sup>er</sup> JANVIER - 1<sup>er</sup> OCTOBRE 1967

GALLIMARD

la fin de l'été



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reality continues to be employed today by writers endowed with the most modern and rigorous cultural and epistemological equipment (I will cite only Michel Butor and Uwe Johnson). And it leads to the discussion not only of the world (which would be a small matter) but of the very essence of the literary work. There are risks that one must be prepared to run if one wishes to follow this road.

The prevailing trend among the young writers of today is more philosophical than ever, but with a philosophy interior to the actual act of writing. In France the *Tel quel* group, headed by Philippe Sollers, concentrates upon an ontology of language, of writing, of "the book", which had its prophet in Mallarmé; in Italy the destructive function of writing appears to be at the centre of research; in Germany the difficulty of writing the truth is the main theme; anyhow, common characteristics are predominant in the general tendency in these three countries. In literature this tends to present itself as a speculative activity, austere, unemotional, remote both from the cries of tragedy and from the caprices of happiness: its only colours, its only images are the whiteness of the pages and the array of black lines.

Does my previous argument, then, no longer hold water? A frontal encounter between two ways of seeing the world appears to have become impossible, ever since literature seems to have outkicked philosophy's positions and to have shut itself up in a philosophical fortress which can hold out with perfect self-sufficiency.

In reality, if I wish my picture to be valid not only for today but also for tomorrow, I must include in it an element which I have so far neglected. The thing I was describing as a marriage with separate beds should be seen as a *ménage à trois*: philosophy, literature and science. Science is faced with problems not distinct from those of literature; it constructs models of the world which are continually being challenged, it alternates between the inductive and the deductive method, and has always to take care not to mistake its own linguistic conventions for objective laws. A culture that is equal to the situation will exist only when the problems of science, those of philosophy and those of literature are continually challenging each other.

While we await this moment all we can do is to pause and consider the available examples of a literature which breathes philosophy and science but keeps its distance and

dissolves, with a slight puff of air, not only theoretical abstractions but also the apparent concreteness of reality. I am alluding to that extraordinary, indefinable region of the human imagination from which have issued the works of Lewis Carroll, of Queneau, of Borges.

But I must first observe on simple fact, out of which I do not claim to construct any general explanation: while the relationship of literature to religion, from Aeschylus to Dostoevsky, is established under the sign of tragedy, its relationship with philosophy becomes explicit for the first time in the comedy of Aristophanes, and was to continue its progress behind the screen of the comic, the ironical, the humorous. It was not for nothing that those works which, in the eighteenth century, were called *contes philosophiques* were in reality gay vendettas against philosophy carried on through the literary imagination.

But in Voltaire and Diderot the imagination is governed by a precise didactic and polemical purpose; the author already knows, right from the start, all that he wishes to say. Does he know or does he think he knows? The laughter of Swift and Sterne is full of shadows. At the same time as the *conte philosophique*, or, slightly later, the *conte fantastique* and the Gothic novel released obsessive visions of the unconscious. Does the real challenge of philosophy lie in lucid irony, in the sufferings of reason (as the Italians think immediately of Leopardi's dialogues), in transparency of intelligence (the French will at once think of *Monsieur Teste*), or in the conjuring up of the ghosts which continue to haunt our brightly lit houses?

Both traditions have been carried on, here and there, up to the present day. The eighteenth-century "philosophy" writer has his most flourishing reincarnations today in Germany, both as poet (Benzenberger), as a dramatist (Peter Weiss's *Marat-Sade*), and as the novelist (Günter Grass). On the other side, "fantastic" literature has been revived by surrealism in its struggle to throw down the barriers between the rational and the irrational in literature. With his formula of the "hasard objectif" Brelon exposes the irrationality of the case: associations of words and images respond to a hidden logic no less authoritative than that which is commonly called "thought". There, perhaps, lies the main philosophical node of the literature of our century.

In point of fact the new horizon opened out when a clergyman, a student of logic and mathematics,

started inventing the Alice stories. From that moment we know that philosophical reason (which "like it sleeps breeds monsters") can, if its eyes open, have magnificent dreams which are also worthy of its loftiest moments of speculation.

From Lewis Carroll onwards a new relationship is established between philosophy and literature. There arise the great samplers of philosophy as a stimulus to imagination. Queneau, Arno Schlegel, Borges carry on different relationships with different philosophies and linguistic worlds of very different kinds. They have the common habit of hiding their cards: the philosophical associations are the only through allusions to the originals, metaphysical ground is never made available to the erudition. Every moment we expect that the secret watermark of the universe is about to become visible against the light—an expectation that is always disappointed at night.

Characteristic of this family of writers is their inclination to cultivate the most compromising position, both speculative and erudite, without ever, fundamentally, taking too seriously. On the borders of the realm are to be found: Beckett, who has a tragic and religious quality; Gadda, divided between the ambivalence of the philosopher and the desire to write, each time, a *Natural History*; Calvino, who surveys the soil of causing him to break off his book halfway through; and Gombrowicz (the splendid duel between the Synthesist and an Analyst), a devouring concentration upon the game between symbols and meanings, between myths and ideas which can reveal gardens of vision and delights, but must be practiced with supreme detachment. It is appropriate here to quote a book which came out a few months ago in France, *Vendredi*, by Michel Tournier, a working of *Robinson Crusoe* with references to the "hard sciences", in which Crusoe (literally) with the island.

*Robinson Crusoe* was, more seriously, a philosophical novel, even before that *Don Quixote* or *Hamlet*—how consciously I do not know—announced a new relationship between the phantom-like lightness of ideas and the heaviness of the world. When one speaks of relations between literature and philosophy one must not forget that is where the argument begins.

But I must first observe on simple fact, out of which I do not claim to construct any general explanation: while the relationship of literature to religion, from Aeschylus to Dostoevsky, is established under the sign of tragedy, its relationship with philosophy becomes explicit for the first time in the comedy of Aristophanes, and was to continue its progress behind the screen of the comic, the ironical, the humorous. It was not for nothing that those works which, in the eighteenth century, were called *contes philosophiques* were in reality gay vendettas against philosophy carried on through the literary imagination.

But in Voltaire and Diderot the imagination is governed by a precise didactic and polemical purpose; the author already knows, right from the start, all that he wishes to say. Does he know or does he think he knows? The laughter of Swift and Sterne is full of shadows. At the same time as the *conte philosophique*, or, slightly later, the *conte fantastique* and the Gothic novel released obsessive visions of the unconscious. Does the real challenge of philosophy lie in lucid irony, in the sufferings of reason (as the Italians think immediately of Leopardi's dialogues), in transparency of intelligence (the French will at once think of *Monsieur Teste*), or in the conjuring up of the ghosts which continue to haunt our brightly lit houses?

Both traditions have been carried on, here and there, up to the present day. The eighteenth-century "philosophy" writer has his most flourishing reincarnations today in Germany, both as poet (Benzenberger), as a dramatist (Peter Weiss's *Marat-Sade*), and as the novelist (Günter Grass). On the other side, "fantastic" literature has been revived by surrealism in its struggle to throw down the barriers between the rational and the irrational in literature. With his formula of the "hasard objectif" Brelon exposes the irrationality of the case: associations of words and images respond to a hidden logic no less authoritative than that which is commonly called "thought". There, perhaps, lies the main philosophical node of the literature of our century.

The Novel of Ideas

OPEN-HANDED ENIGMA

GEORGES CHARBONNIER: *Entretiens avec Jorge Luis Borges*. 133pp. Paris: Gallimard. 9.50 fr.

Jorge Luis Borges is the most recent victim of Georges Charbonnier's amiable interrogations of artists and writers—at least so far as the printed version is concerned; Borges has been widely translated into French, which he speaks admirably, and acclaimed as a precursor of at least some of the ambiguities of the *nouveau roman*; allowed Sadey Borges and M. Charbonnier, not miserably half-hour, but eight long sessions. And so the reader picks up this book to his happy anticipation of entering deeply into the mind and sensibility of Borges.

Yet the slightest acquaintance with *Fictions* should have tempered such optimism. Does Borges ever give anything away? He has always worn the mask of frankness and objectivity to underline his sense of the unreliability of all evidence, and as part of the creation of the many personae he assumes in the course of the making of *Fictions*. And now we see him enact the role of willing victim of Georges Charbonnier's inquiry. With consummate ease he develops the obvious dwells affectionately on the commonplace and deeply into the abysses of his writings, not by any lenient tolerance, but by a loving flow of superficiality.

Borges has over the years polished and perfected his pose in the face of

wave after wave of critics, journalists and research students who have approached him in search of special illumination concerning the genesis and meaning of his stories. Out come the references to writers to whom he feels a particular debt—H. G. Wells, Chesterton, Bloy, Quevedo; the ritual onslaught on Gracian's comments on films and the "defective" story; the autobiographical details concerning the first stages in the composition of a story; the sense of alienation from much of his writing: "C'est un peu le contraire de penser". Who could blame Borges for refusing to make his conversation an extension of his literature? And if his manner, impeccably courteous and obliging, promises much only to conceal everything, the resulting conception of the reader—or listener—is an authentically Borgesian experience.

Authentic or not, it may be argued that Georges Charbonnier bears a part of the responsibility for the uninformative nature of this book. He has assimilated much from the artistic and cultural world where he has conducted his inquiries. Regrettably, therefore, by making himself all things to all men he has translated the deep insights of others into the shallow insights of himself, into the manner of an accomplished bedside talker, now acting out the motions of equality with his victim, now subtly handing down the revelation

to the listening—and reading—masses. With Borges he has lost his touch. He has decided to open his interrogation in a manner of easy yet respectful familiarity. Borges responds to all frankness and modesty. He is so by what he has written. But Georges Charbonnier hopes that, creating an atmosphere of relaxed intimacy, he will elicit intimate revelations, he will prove to be mistaken. Borges takes up the member, maintains the atmosphere, and resists Charbonnier's harangues hint, he has him on critical theory, repeating the new look to French criticism today. Borges is frank, open, obliging and grateful—and he is nothing away.

At the end of the last interview Borges adds his final touch to the *entretiens* by the telling inconclusiveness of the whole proceedings.

Un livre qui veut être, c'est un livre qui doit pouvoir lire de plus en plus. Que, en tout cas, doit pouvoir lire de plus en plus. Une lecture variable, une lecture variable. Chaque génération lit à sa façon. C'est différent les grandes lectures de parler de la Bible. C'est évident. C'est évident. En même temps

History of Ideas

GOD AND SLAVDOM

LEON E. MACMASTER: *Danilevsky*. 370pp. Harvard University Press. London: O.U.P. £3 4s.

From the Russian left, the Russian publishing history of this work, first issued in 1871, seems to show that it enjoyed its greatest popularity during the years 1888 to 1895, i.e., when Pan Slavism was in a state of eclipse.

Not a great deal is known of Danilevsky's personal life. All the more sedulously therefore has the author endeavoured to follow the advice of the late Professor Kurpovich to "squeeze" the scanty data very hard, and place Danilevsky in his time. Mr. MacMaster himself claims to have attempted "a somewhat new kind of historical research, using comparative historical, social scientific, and philosophical-psychological (mainly phenomenological) concepts quite extensively in the analysis of biographical materials". He claims, further, that this has resulted in "more than a study of one man... [but] a biographical history of the modern Russian radical mind, both romantic... and totalitarian".

Despite the irresistible reminiscence of Polonius in these claims, Mr. MacMaster makes out a telling case for his particular interpretation of Danilevsky. It culminates in the twin assertion that there was a man moved both by his response to a time of rapid cultural change and by a genuine philosophic quest for meaning. He was by no means a frustrated intellectual, suffering from an oppressive regime. On the contrary, he was educated at a government-founded school and went on to enjoy a successful career in the scientific service of the government. In his final years he took a prominent part in the state's efforts to eradicate vinicultural life in the Crimea.

But if Danilevsky had an acknowledged position in society it by no means follows that he was at ease in society. On the contrary, although the evidence is regrettably scanty,

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PIETY AND POLITICS

JEAN THUAU: *Raison d'état et pensée politique à l'époque de Richelieu*. 478pp. Paris: Colin. 35fr.

Thau's work on the political thinkers and propagandists of the half of the seventeenth century in France is a solid and thought-provoking addition to our knowledge of this vital period, and a key to become a standard study. If it is not always a very long study, this is partly the fault of the writers whose views are under discussion. France produced no more than a few writers of the first rank during this era to rival Montaigne and Bodin in the previous century. Montesquieu and the writers of the Enlightenment in the eighteenth century, like Guez de Balzac, Gabriel Naudé, Corneille, La Bruyère, and Molière, do not qualify for any short history of great political philosophers, whose views are perhaps all the more representative of their age, and give a more accurate picture of contemporary realities and preoccupations. M. Thau takes the lead methodically through the political thought of Louis XIII's reign, dealing with its different strands. On the one hand there was the party of the *docteurs*, pro-Spanish, pro-Jesuit, pro-Spanish, pro-Bourbon, and bitterly hostile to the policies of Richelieu. On the other hand there was the party of the *docteurs*, pro-French, pro-Bourbon, and bitterly hostile to the policies of Richelieu. On the one hand there was the party of the *docteurs*, pro-French, pro-Bourbon, and bitterly hostile to the policies of Richelieu. On the other hand there was the party of the *docteurs*, pro-French, pro-Bourbon, and bitterly hostile to the policies of Richelieu.

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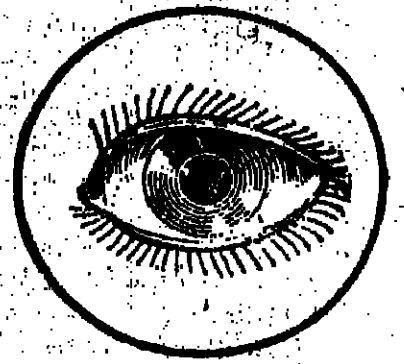
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# THE CHURCH OF ROME

JAMES LEES-MILNE: *Saint Peter's. The Story of Saint Peter's Basilica in Rome.* 336pp. Hamish Hamilton

Although the circumstance is not explicitly mentioned, this splendid tribute to the most celebrated of churches appears on the nineteenth hundredth anniversary of the martyrdom of the apostle to whom it is dedicated. Mr. Lees-Milne is right to insist that Saint Peter's is only intelligible if one remembers that it is "a church built round an altar over a tomb, and everything in its design is subservient to the commemorative purpose". That purpose governs, too, the long history of the site itself, from its choice in the beginning by Constantine to Bernini's final enrichment of the traditional place of Saint Peter's entombment. The history of Saint Peter's is much more than the history of a building; and not the least merit of this brilliant study, which readers of Mr. Lees-Milne's earlier studies of the baroque will expect to be both sensitive and informed, is its constant awareness of the single thread that unites the tomb of a Galilean fisherman to the subsequent splendours of its setting. It is the history of the papacy itself, and those for whom the long catalogue of the popes seems intolerably confused will find a fascinating clarification in the story of their concern for the place on which their claims rested. They come to life on home ground.

The story begins, then, with Peter himself. And, whatever conclusions theologians may have later drawn from the evidence of time and place, Constantine's seemingly arbitrary selection of a hillside cemetery (with all its difficulties in terms of building) for the site of his basilica, is the foundation—in every sense—of all that happened after. The excavations, begun in 1940 under Pope Pius XII, did not certainly reveal Saint Peter's bones. In the circumstances this could hardly be expected. But even the most cautious archaeological judgment can conclude that there was a monument or shrine to Saint Peter in the Roman cemetery on which the basilica was to be built. Mr. Lees-Milne gives a clear and judicious account of all the evidence, and has provided moreover a much fuller picture than has hitherto been available of the noble Constantinian church—too easily forgotten beneath the overwhelming magnificence of its successor.

But it is with the present building

that Mr. Lees-Milne is of course principally concerned, though always with a lively and sympathetic awareness of the venerable basilica that had for more than 1,100 years embodied the central place of Christian faith and devotion. It must seem explicable to a modern sensibility that such a building should simply be demolished, but Mr. Lees-Milne rightly reproaches us for feeling any sense of superiority when we still allow lesser vandalism to go on happening. In fact the Constantinian church was by the fifteenth century in grave disrepair: it was a victim of wars and pillage as well as of the sad years of papal impotence. For long neglected, patched and buttressed, it was in any case unequal to the ambitions of the renaissance popes. "Noble edifices combining taste and beauty with imposing proportions would immensely conduce to the exaltation of the Chair of St. Peter"; the words of Nicholas V (1447-55), whose decision it was to demolish the old church, are a sufficient expression of the mood of confident faith and of the architecture that was to declare it.

But the actual process of building a new basilica was long and troubled, and Mr. Lees-Milne follows the tortuous story through the maze of plans proposed and rejected, quarrels and financial crises. The few decisive names that shaped the building as we know it emerge in all their strength. For strong they undoubtedly were: the partnership of Julius II and Bramante, resolute and impatient to impose a centralized design that would be worthy of the greatest of Christian temples, was only the first of those close associations of pope and architect that achieved so stupendous a result. Popes usually have short reigns, and artists come and go. But Michelangelo, appointed chief architect to Saint Peter's in 1546 when he was already seventy-two years old, was to leave a more lasting impression than any other. Even though it is the hand of Maderno that we are most aware of in the final disposition of the basilica (for it was he who lengthened the nave and transformed the Greek cross of Bramante and Michelangelo's design into a Latin cross that greatly extended the space), and if it is the soaring exuberance of Bernini's baldachin and the *cattedra* beyond that

dominates the scene within, Michelangelo's dome, modified though the original design may be, still defines the building from afar.

Mr. Lees-Milne is both historian and critic, and nothing is more admirable in his book than the subtle counterpoint of events and the new church as their stage. He observed with the loving accuracy that marked his earlier *Morning in Rome*, is not merely the architect's design—though that is carefully described in all its stages: the particular genius of the building, with all its inconsistencies, comes to life. It is easy to discover where his sympathies lie: never can Rome have been so profoundly considered or so totally freed from the shackles of mere fantasy. Details are minutely recorded, such as the story of the re-erection of the obelisk in the piazza or the fascinating genealogy of the barley-sugar columns that surround Bernini's baldachin. And certain prearranged stimuli (texts such as the account of the sumptuous play of a pontifical high mass) have been done into the number of the book, which is a living reality to the reader who reads it. The book is a masterpiece of the art of the book. One suspects that for Mr. Lees-Milne the Second Vatican Council, which he faithfully chronicles among the basilica's great monuments, was an unmixt blessing. His judgment is sometimes severe and judicious. In particular, seems unduly berated.

A book such as this demands an illustration, and it is on the whole served. But it would be a grave mistake to regard the text as merely a series of photographs and reproductions. The coloured photographs of Mario Carriari are often fine, but firm protest must be made against several attempts to be made to which fall. This is a view of St. Peter's up the Via della Conciliazione: it is distorted and the church's true scale, in several others a vast foreground seems to have no point but that of unjustifiable essays in novelty. Minor flaws—as in the case of St. Peter's itself—can do nothing to mar the general effect of a work that is beautifully proportioned and serene.

# VICTORIAN ITALY

OTTAVIO BARI: *L'Italia nell'Ottocento. Società e Costumi.* 898pp. Turin: Unione Tipografica, L.1400

This big book is lavishly illustrated (although there are no colour plates) and beautifully printed on good paper. And it is very expensive. Nor, although Dr. Bari is known as a serious historian of nineteenth-century diplomacy, is it rare for scholarly names to provide fig-leaves of respectability for metropolitan and stylish books. Happily this impression is soon dispelled when one looks into the book. It is, in fact, a large (though not exhaustive) and scholarly (though not flawless) social and technological history of Italy in the nineteenth century.

Dr. Bari started with the great advantage that much of his chosen period of study falls within the era of photography. This has been exploited by him most successfully in the portrayal of individual and regional types and in the presentation of costume. There are almost no examples, unfortunately, of the capture of events by the camera—a possibility much more widely available to the social historian of the twentieth century—unless catching a covey of balloonists before their ascent is to count as one. For the very newsworthy satirical and industrial troubles of the end of the nineteenth century, Dr. Bari has relied on the evocative, but none the less romanticized illustrations of the popular press. This is a pity: surely photographs of greater documentary value than our artists' impression could be found of, say, the Milan fighting of 1898. With this qualification, it must be said that the pictorial component of this book is excellent. The drawings, paintings, prints, advertisements, and postage stamps which Dr. Bari has

assembled are truly illustrative. They do not stand in splendid isolation for their own sake, but genuinely supplement and complement his text.

That text is also of high quality. It does not offer major surprises in its interpretation, but there is no reason for a book of this sort to do so. It gives due weight to the enormous preponderance of agriculture in Italian life, to regional differences, to the now-fashionable view of the creative importance of active minorities in the *Risorgimento*. The organization is interesting: the book falls into three sections, on private, social, and public (that is, political and administrative) life. Intellectual developments are set in the context of the second. There is considerable use of statistical material, though it is not always deployed where one might expect to find it. In the interesting chapter on "nutrition", for example, there is plentiful description of diet, but no analysis of household budgets (there is also too much of *la grande cucina*, which is, of course, easier to illustrate). It might also have been better to arrange the book so that it opened with a discussion of the demography which provides the ground-swell of Italian history since unification. Although Dr. Bari never obscures it, the story of the masses does not dominate the reader's imagination from the start of this book as it should do. This is partly because of the arrangement of his material which he has adopted.

The book none the less remains a deeply interesting and valuable study. A picture of Italy in the round emerges from its pages. It is striking to see how in social life as well as

in the economic indices it reveals the slowness with which Italy took its place among developed countries. Occupational trends, which characterized liberal bourgeois society in other countries were slow in establishing themselves in Italy. What they did, they affected minorities (the Milanese and northern viewports) which mark this book may read some of this from the reader. It is also striking to have Italian evidence for a truth pointed out long ago by G. M. Young in reference to Russia: that many of the phenomena which we lump together casually as "Victorian" are to be found all over the nineteenth-century world and certainly not only in industrial England. There are also some splendid details to savour: the interplay of politics and military, for example, and the craze for the *pelle alla parrucina* after Belling, or the still from the epic *Quo Vadis* of 1913 (the early ascendancy of the Italian cinema in the spectacular manner has been forgotten because the Great War killed it).

On some things one wants more information: the treatment of the middle class is scrappy, and the information on the origins of restaurants and public eating-places (analogously general) there is no discussion of a conspicuous feature of Italian life, the *caffè* until the early 1950s, the existence of a legal system of prostitution and its special police *des moeurs*, and though there is more to be said on some topics this book is big enough to be of great value to anyone interested in the origins of the confusions which make up modern Italian life.

# SOCIOLOGY AND THE NOVEL

By Umberto Eco

BEFORE DEALING with the subject, one should perhaps define exactly what one means by "sociology" and "the novel". At the present, at least on the Continent, it is becoming hard to define just what a novel is. Does the *Three Musketeers* fit into the category as Philippe Sollers's *Le For*, for instance? And what about sociology? The sociology of literature? has often been studied in a way that a social scientist would hardly accept as sociological. Yet what really brings the novel alive is the fact that there are novels which are not novels and novels which are called sociological. In fact, there is something else; something more like the history of ideas or cultural anthropology.

There are simpler definitions, of course. Sociology can be understood as a science, for instance: a team of researchers chooses a sample of the public and, using exact methods, examines the reactions of its sample to certain prearranged stimuli (texts such as the novel). In a case like this the relationship between sociology and the novel is pretty clear. Research by this time has become a nostalgic reminder of a glory, which if not departed is at least diminished. One suspects that for Mr. Lees-Milne the Second Vatican Council, which he faithfully chronicles among the basilica's great monuments, was an unmixt blessing. His judgment is sometimes severe and judicious. In particular, seems unduly berated.

Here then appears another type of sociologist: he does not work in the field to discover how these young provincials behave on the average, but seeks in the novels themselves a typical example of the young French provincial trying to make his way in capitalist society. This was the way in which Marx and Engels interpreted Balzac's characters, and with it they initiated a sociology of literature that sought to discover the general laws of society through the interpretation of

understand what a certain type of reader is thinking, since he knows it has been written to attract that very reader. Thus the student of social sciences may read Mickey Spillane in order to understand the McCarthyist mentality of the 1950s.

But the situation is more complex. In order to understand it, I suggest that we take a hypothetical model of the way in which sociological studies and the novelist's imagination might be dialectically connected: a laboratory model, although for every imaginary case practical examples can be cited. Let us suppose that a nineteenth-century sociologist had conducted an inquiry among the young in the French provinces, testing their ideas about money, worldly success and social status.

Why should a novelist not have used the sociologist's facts to tell an imaginary story? The inquiry in fact never took place, but the novelist existed: Balzac invented Rastignac or Lucien de Rubempré. But even if Balzac had had the sociologist's facts available, he would have used them in a very unscientific way: instead of establishing the statistical mean of these attitudes, he would have exaggerated and overworked certain aspects of them, and attributed them to a single person. This, in fact, is just what he did.

Another method of inquiry used by the sociologist of literature, therefore, is to establish certain social forms of behaviour from the way in which commercial writers use standard characters: Marx, Engels, and Belinsky, for instance, and a falsely socialist, conservative or social-democratic ideology in the way in which Eugene Sue makes standard characters behave in standard situations in *Les mystères de Paris*. These are the earliest examples of a "sociology of bad writing", a socio-

literary "type". In our own century, this sociology of literature has been rigorously applied by György Lukács, who maintains that a character becomes typical "when the author manages to reveal the multiple links between the individual traits of his heroes and the general problems of the age; when the character enacts the general problems of his time, even the most abstract, before us, as his own individual problems, which to him are vitally important". (cf. *Karl Marx and F. Engels als Literaturhistoriker*, also *Schriften zur Literatursoziologie*.)

Studies of this kind are inevitably inclined to make lists of typical examples (Julien Sorel is typical, Madame Bovary is not—even Lukács sometimes says frightful things of this sort), and the sociology of literature makes an instant appeal to the bad writer. One result of it has been Soviet realism, which mass-produces "positive types" according to exact rules. But even earlier there was uplifting literature for the petit bourgeois, and fiction that was socialist, humanitarian and educative. The novelist hoped to contribute to the study of society through his novels, whereas in fact all he did was show, through puppets, social phenomena that the sociology of literature had already classified, having deduced them from other novels.

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context in which it is being created,  
on which it is to a certain extent  
dependent, and to which it is bound  
for its very existence. The theatre is  
not therefore political according to  
the political power to which it bows  
or the politics which it proclaims, but  
according to how deeply it mirrors  
and reflects the social happenings of  
its time, raises, formulates and  
demonstrates the social problems of  
its contemporaries and is able to  
observe its themes through the prism  
of the sensibility of its age.

You cannot escape it: the theatre  
cannot exist even "physically" as a  
dead object; it must always of neces-  
sity be a definite social institution, a  
living organism, dependent by the  
whole system of its metabolism on its  
environment and always consciously  
or unconsciously reflecting this  
environment.

The essential politicality of the  
theatre does not, of course, mean  
that there exists any particularly  
friendly relationship between the  
theatre and practical politics, or be-  
tween the theatre and politicians.  
Paradoxical as it may sound, quite  
the reverse is true. Between the  
theatre and active politics there exists  
a state of latent conflict, and this not  
in spite of the fact that the theatre  
is characterized by a high degree of  
politicality, but just because of it.  
Practical politics is always the reali-  
zation—sometimes for better, some-  
times for worse—of social power.  
The theatre is on the contrary—at  
least in this context—the realization  
of truth ("the mirror of the age", as  
Shakespeare says) and in its very  
politicality often of truth about power.  
Between truth and power there is  
always a traditional state of conflict,  
because the one always regards the  
other as its own instrument: truth is  
for power the instrument of power,  
while for truth power is the instru-  
ment of truth. And if, on top of  
this, that sphere of truth, in which  
the theatre traditionally takes a  
heightened interest, is the sphere  
of politics, that is to say the sphere  
of power, then it is quite  
natural that this traditional tension  
which I have mentioned must logi-

cally find in the theatre its particu-  
larly acute form.  
The "politicality" of the theatre  
is not thus something which brings  
the theatre closer to practical poli-  
tics, but the reverse—something  
which establishes between them a  
permanent state of discord. The  
theatre shows the truth about poli-  
tics, not because it has a political  
aim: politics itself is the aim.  
The theatre can depict politics pre-  
cisely because it has no political aim.  
For this reason it seems to me that  
all ideas of a so-called "political  
theatre" are mistaken. Every con-  
scious, intentional, and manifest poli-  
ticality brings the theatre nearer to  
practical politics (the theatre, for in-  
stance, begins to serve a political  
ideology or group). But the real and  
true politicality of the theatre is  
guaranteed, as it seems to me, by its  
very distance from politics, which  
enables it to speak the truth about  
politics and thus achieve a political  
impact. A voluntary involvement in  
practical politics means voluntary  
abdication of the natural politi-  
cality of the theatre and the  
immobilization of its natural sources  
of resonance. If a theatre pro-  
claims itself "political" I always feel  
that it is trying to catch up artificially  
with something from outside which it  
essentially lacks; as though it were a  
sign of a critical lack of true, authen-  
tic and spontaneous politicality, which  
should be spontaneous and never  
think about manifesting itself. I  
believe that the theatre is most poli-  
tical in the best sense of the word  
when it does not have to concern  
itself too much with its own political-  
ity. And to demand that the theatre  
should be "political" seems to be as  
spurious as to demand that the  
theatre be "theatrical", "poetic", "ae-  
sthetic" and the cinema "cinematic".  
It seems to me that only a theatre which  
is harassed by the theatrical inferior-  
ity complex (justified or not) would  
direct its efforts towards programme  
theatre. In the normal way this  
should be something so natural and  
essential that it could not possibly  
require effort. And so it is, I think,  
with the politicality of the theatre.  
Ideology, like truth in the service  
of power, is as foreign to the theatre,

which is by its very nature politi-  
cal as it is possible to imagine. I am  
convinced that the theatre has only  
one path, to be true to itself, to  
what it enjoys, what it likes, to  
And if those who in the final move-  
make the theatre real theatre in  
words its public, find in the authen-  
ticity of the theatre, that is to say  
the authenticity of those who are  
theatre something of their own  
authenticity, something of their own  
image; if they come to the theatre  
to communicate with themselves  
there, to realize within themselves  
the help of the theatre, the  
of self-realization of the theatre,  
of the theatre, what  
then the precious moment has  
when the theatre is really theatre,  
when it is political in the finest  
of the word, because it speaks  
living language to the contem-  
porary.

The true politicality of the the-  
atre is not then what the politicians  
want, the propagation of their  
virtues, but what the public wants  
it, that is to say, the truth about  
lives and also about how they  
are affected by the activities of the  
politicians. And if it happens that the  
of the theatre is for a moment in  
mony with what the politicians want  
from it in the interests of their pro-  
gram, this does not invalidate the com-  
mon, but rather proves it.

But for there to be harmony be-  
tween two things they must first  
exist. It would be ideal if such  
mony did not come about by  
the politicians giving orders to  
the theatre from their position of  
power, but that the theatre from the  
of its truth should enforce  
them in their daily practice. The-  
course Utopian and can never  
realized. And in spite of all this,  
must always not over and over  
as though it were possible to  
it.

Always again girding on the  
for this vain struggle—this is  
those beautiful absurdities which  
human life its meaning.

## Russian Theatre

### COMIC MEDIOCRITY

DAVID J. WELSH: *Russian Comedy*. 133pp. The Hague: Mouton. 20 Guilders.

The extreme rarity of books in En-  
glish on eighteenth-century Russian  
literature should arouse interest in  
Professor Welsh's book; the sixty-fifth  
volume in Mouton's series of Slavonic  
Printings and Reprints. Most English  
readers cheerfully accept the old com-  
monplace that Russian literature "be-  
gan with Pushkin" and know nothing  
of the century of apprenticeship that  
went before. Even students of Rus-  
sian literature are unlikely to be fami-  
liar with some of the names men-  
tioned in Professor Welsh's book  
(Kopel, Nikolov, Matinsky). His  
book, therefore, is welcome for open-  
ing up territory which is little  
known to all but a narrow circle of  
specialists.

The task Professor Welsh sets him-  
self is to examine the tradition of  
Russian classical comedy which re-  
ceived its culmination—and its death-  
blow—in Gribodov's celebrated *Woe  
from Wit* (1823). In three chapters  
he analyses the themes, the characters  
and the structure of a large sample  
of the hundreds of comedies written  
between 1763 and 1823 by dozens of  
playwrights whose talents—with few  
notable exceptions—never rose above  
the mediocre. As limited as the  
talents of the majority of play-  
wrights was the range of themes;  
and characters that engaged their  
attention. Snobbery, ambition,  
official corruption, false educational  
values, gallomania and pedantry  
provided the subjects for most of  
these plays. Wooden, virtuous heroes  
and heroines, difficult parents, wise  
rascals, arch servants, ignorant  
meisters, fops, plagiarists and blue-  
stockings; their particular quality  
signalled from far by characteristic  
names, such as Dobromyslov and  
Prokudin, recur in play after play.  
Professor Welsh catalogues them,  
discusses examples and indicates the  
way in which these themes and  
characters were varied and developed.  
This is a work conscientiously  
done, but inevitably rather dull. Pro-  
fessor Welsh is more interesting

where he traces the influence of the  
French tradition and where he links  
the development of comedy with  
social and historical factors (the notes  
for instance, the increase in the stage  
presentation of servants when the  
theatre began to cater for a wider  
public). The final chapter, on genre  
and structure, is the most valuable  
with its examination of the various  
devices used for introducing charac-  
ters, conveying information, motivat-  
ing entrances and exits, and so on.

The book is undoubtedly a useful  
guide to Russian classical comedy (it  
could well serve as a handbook for  
anyone who wanted to write one).  
All the evidence suggests it began as  
a thesis, and it is a pity that so little  
appears to have been done to it in  
turning it into a book. For one thing,  
its scope could have been widened to  
make it read less like an inventory of  
parts for the comedy-writer.  
The style, too, could have been tidied  
up. There are too many digressions,  
non-sequiturs, and muddled sen-  
tences. There are omitted words  
(Russian Maslova never recovered  
Novikov's arrest in 1792?),  
"approve" is written for "im-  
prove", "tribune" for "tribune",  
and there is an inexcusable number  
of misprints and misspellings (of  
raster). For worse, though, is the  
scandalous number of errors in the  
translated names of the Russian  
authors and their plays. A rough  
count revealed more than eighty in  
a mere 133 pages of text. Some of  
them are misprints, but most are due  
to the inconsistent application of the  
transliteration system used in the  
series. Thus, Lubim appears on  
the side by side with Lipitskie, Truten  
with Truten, Saxovskoi with Saxov-  
skoi (this is not the place to consider  
the merits of using English "x" (eks)  
for Russian "k" (kh)). A character  
from Catherine's *Opanshchik* is  
mentioned three times, each time with  
a different spelling (Kalfalkzerstori,

Xalifalkzerstori, Xalifalkstori,  
Alexei Mikhailovich (page 30  
contains four errors of transliteration;  
the accepted (1) system of transliteration  
("Aleksей Михайлович"). Kalfalkstori  
Dvorianskijstori kucer on page  
reappears as Kalfalkstori's Dvorianskij  
kucer on page 105 (at least with an  
author's name right). Add to this  
table of abbreviations, which is  
consistently used, a page reference  
(page 28, footnote 41) which is  
pages wide of the mark and one  
page wide of confusion.  
A sorry picture of confusion. In  
simply not good enough in an  
academic work and it is to be  
demanded that the publishers will ensure a  
standard of accuracy in future  
volumes of this useful series.

J. Thomas Shaw has produced  
booklet on *The Transliteration of  
Modern Russian for English-  
speaking Publications* (University  
of Wisconsin Press, distributed  
American University Press, 1966).  
Group 7s. 6d. Car or Post  
Dostoevsky or Dostoevskij? Or  
Gorky? Or Gorkov? Or Gorkov?  
chov? The transliteration of  
Russian (and indeed Greek, Chinese,  
Arabic, and names has been  
a phantasmagoria of confusion,  
and is virtually impossible to  
what system might be recom-  
mended to ensure its regularity.  
For one, the transliteration of  
various from country to country  
the purpose of transliteration being  
that will make its pronunciation  
easily accessible to the layman.  
is ignorant of international phi-  
lology. And there is a  
added problem that formerly was  
iteration passed through the  
or French transliteration of Greek  
four different systems of transliteration;  
and his recommendations  
their use should be studied by  
ligners, journalists and librarians.

## CRISP CHEKHOV

Platonov, Ivanov, The Seagull.  
Translated by Ronald Hingley. 362pp. Oxford University Press. £3 3s.

Volume II of what is projected  
as a ten-volume translation of all  
of his full-length plays. Dr.  
Hingley has succeeded in  
producing the high standard of  
accuracy in editing which characterizes  
the volumes already published (III  
and VIII). His task has not been  
any easier in this case by the  
fact that none of these works was  
of great length that it would re-  
quire drastic cutting for reasonable  
publication at the present time, is full  
of quotable, ill-assorted charac-  
teristics of both sexes who revile each  
other with epithets of abuse that must  
be and inevitably of most trans-  
lations. Dr. Hingley has a string of  
epithets up his sleeve, but even  
he is clear, has found  
one difficulty in matching  
the with like. Terms such as  
"swine", "thorough-going swine",  
"old bitch", "popinjay", "moun-  
tain" have the sort of boisterous  
flavour which is probably appro-  
priate to a play written by a twenty-  
year-old. In *Ivanov*, on the other  
hand, which is a more mature and  
dearly more successful treatment of  
a theme first examined in *Platonov*,  
it is doubtful whether "most unmiti-  
gated swine", even if italicised, really  
conveys the equivalent effect of the  
word *swine* in Russian. It is at  
points such as these that the task  
of the translator becomes so difficult  
and especially if he is translating  
plays so limited. He can indicate  
the nature of the effect which the  
original text has striven to attain,  
but it must be left to the discretion  
of a director, producer or adaptor  
to decide whether the tone of voice  
suggested by the translation is, in  
stances such as the one quoted, a

hindrance or an aid to understand-  
ing. All plays in their written form  
tend to be blueprints rather than  
completed edifices, and this must be  
true particularly of translations.

Dr. Hingley's version of *The Seagull*  
reads crisply. Of Chekhov's plays  
it is the first to show evidence of his  
mature manner and for many people  
it may seem to be his most para-  
doxical and intimate work for the  
theatre. This translation is fluent,  
contemporary, vigorous; it eschews  
the dot-dot-dot suggestiveness of  
earlier versions, and other manner-  
isms which might emphasize soulful-  
ness. In doing so, it perhaps errs on  
the side of excessive modernization,  
particularly when Nina, returning in  
the final act to explain how she has  
discovered her vocation as an actress,  
uses such words as "moral" and  
"stamina" to convey what, in the  
original Russian, are literally expres-  
sions equivalent to "spiritual  
powers" and "the ability to endure  
in patience". The no-nonsense crisp-  
ness has produced a brightly cleaned  
version, however. We must be  
excused if we take a little time to  
get used to the absence of some of  
the pigment along with the old  
varnish.

The preface to this volume makes  
a plea that the practice of adapting  
Chekhov's plays should be re-  
examined. Re-examined it may be,  
but it is hardly likely to be aban-  
doned. All that can be said is that,  
if adaptations are to be made, let  
them at least be made on the basis  
of Dr. Hingley's translations, which  
are noteworthy for their readability  
and accuracy. It is therefore regret-  
table that in his introduction, pre-  
sumably through an oversight, he  
should leave the impression that such  
"superfluous men" as Chatsky, Onegin,  
Pechorin and Rudin "are all young  
married men of the gentry class".  
Married to whom? one wonders.

## PROBLEM OF OBLOMOV

O. M. CHEMENA: *Sozdaniya dvukh romanov*. 159pp. Moscow: Izd. Nauka. 24 kopecks.

Though famous chiefly as a portrait  
of a lethargic, procrastinating and  
colorfully ineffectual hero, Gon-  
charov's novel *Obломov* (1859) is also  
a love story. The heroine with whom  
Oblovov falls in love but who finally  
rejects him in favour of his best  
friend Andrei Stoltz, is Olga Ilin-  
skaya. For many years it had been  
assumed that the figure of Olga was  
based on a certain Yelizaveta Tol-  
staya with whom Goncharov corre-  
sponded in 1855 and 1856. O. M.  
Chemena in her recent examination  
of the subject suggests that a more  
likely prototype would be Yakaterina  
Maykova (1836-1920), whom Gon-  
charov met by marriage was in  
1859 when he wrote *Oblovov*. In  
this case it is evidence that May-  
kova may have served as a model  
for the heroine of Goncharov's  
last and last novel *The Precipice*  
(1869).

The search for prototypes or living  
models holds a particular fascination  
for literary scholars; and not perhaps  
without reason; since so many Rus-  
sian writers of the last century drew  
from life in a spirit of exacting and  
detailed realism. O. M. Chemena  
approaches the question of her  
prototypes in a method of work was  
based on the fabric of a novel obser-  
vation on life which, although subject  
to the author's general creative influ-  
ence, nevertheless bore the brush of  
reality and not that of their corre-  
spondence to the real world.

Chemena's case in this case seems  
to be that in the winter of 1856-57  
Goncharov became a frequent visitor  
to Maykova's house; that he was fas-  
cinated by her and that under her  
influence he developed and expanded  
the portrait of both Olga and Vera  
in the novel. In the summer of  
1857 he went abroad to Marlenbad  
and between June 15 and August  
15 he stayed at the house of the  
Marlenbad family, which became  
the model for the Marlenbad family  
in *Oblovov*. In the whole of  
*Oblovov* the figure of Oblovov is  
explained by the fact that he is  
a young man who produces a

frightful state of excitement... they  
are conducive to mental and spiri-  
tual activity. That's the secret."

O. M. Chemena is very sceptical  
about this and the result with  
which she rejects even Goncharov's  
own testimony in her effort to argue  
her case for Maykova's influence is  
symptomatic of a declarative and  
rather overbearing tendency discern-  
able in her work. But as a piece of  
assiduous and often perceptive  
research into the role played  
by Maykova in the crea-  
tion of the heroines of Gon-  
charov's two novels, *Oblovov* and  
*The Precipice*, this work has im-  
portance as scholarship. It is prob-  
ably more interesting for what it has  
to say about Maykova in relation to  
Vera of *The Precipice* than in rela-  
tion to Olga of *Oblovov*. Vera is  
Goncharov's study of a woman who  
"falls"; she is seduced by the  
nihilist, Mark Volokhov. Maykova  
also "fell" in the sense that after  
more than ten years of marriage to  
Vladimir Maykov she fell in love  
with a young nihilist, nine years her  
junior, and went off to live with him  
at Stavropol, settling finally at Sochi  
on the Black Sea where she organized  
a hostel for poor students. Gon-  
charov, in touching and delicately  
phrased letters to her of 1866 and  
1869 (which O. M. Chemena pub-  
lishes for the first time in full), urged  
her not to abandon her children in  
spite of her infatuation for the  
nihilist and ideas on female eman-  
cipation current in the 1860s.

O. M. Chemena's work was  
attacked when it appeared in the  
Soviet Union last year as a mass of  
conjectures, confusions, and factual  
errors, but these charges—for the  
most part quite unfounded—have  
been answered in a rejoinder pub-  
lished in *Russkaya literatura* No. 2  
for this year. Whatever the true ex-  
tent of Maykova's role as a model for  
Goncharov's heroines, she was to  
judge from Chemena's research—a  
woman of spirit who was held in high  
regard by many people, including  
Ovsyanko-Kulikovskiy. For this reason  
alone a scholarly service has been  
performed in reminding us of her  
existence.



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## RUSSOPHIL MANN

ALON HOFFMAN: *Thomas Mann und die Welt der russischen Literatur*. Ein Beitrag zur literaturwissenschaftlichen Komparativistik. 397pp. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, MDN, 19.50.

Alois Hofman spoils a potentially fascinating subject by trying to make too many parallels and assert too many influences, while at the same time taking refuge from the requirement that these things should be given cogent foundation behind a pseudo-methodology inspired by the "unity of world literature".

The fact is that Thomas Mann was a great lover of Russian literature, which provided him with inspiring examples and some specific motifs, as well as with material for certain of his most constant and acute concerns. Tolstoy especially: Mann was always very aware of the shadow Tolstoy's achievement casts over any would-be epic writer. He also found his doubts about the status of art and the artist in modern times confirmed by Tolstoy's *What Is Art?* And he was fascinated by Tolstoy simply as a human specimen. Mann learnt in his formative years from Turgenyev, and conceivably also from Dostoevsky, though on this point the evidence is entirely speculative and internal. Mann's own later remarks on Dostoevsky were always rather general and guarded—one senses a temperamental reservation. Chekhov and Goncharov Mann also read, but with what productive results is not clear. Oddly at first sight, but not so surprisingly when one knows something about how Mann's receptivity worked, it was a critic, Dmitri Merezhkovsky, who had the most clearly discernible, if not indeed the greatest, effect of all on Mann's thinking, with his books on Tolstoy and Dostoevsky and on Gogol. All of which adds up to a considerable subject.

Unfortunately, Mr. Hoffman prefers to take the whole *oeuvre* of all these writers and compare anything from them with anything in Mann's fiction. He claims a "historical-topological" entitlement for this, but in the particular case is almost always busy asserting a general or highly specific influence in clearly causal language. Conceptual illumination from any and every angle destroys the profile the subject really has, which could have been brought out by patient and precise investigation. And despite the lengthiness of the dis-

Less unacceptable is the section on Mann's politics, where the author's Marxist orthodoxy limits itself to regretting that he did not achieve ultimate enlightenment, and does not distort the picture of what his attitudes really were.

## FAMILY MANN

ULRICH DIETZEL and GERDA WEISSENFELS: *Aus den Familienpapieren der Manns*. 56pp. Berlin: Aufbau-Verlag, DM.27.

HEINRICH MANN: *Im Schlaraffenland*. Professor Unrat. 599pp. Hamburg: Chassen, DM.32.50.

The selection of documents published as a contribution to the celebration of the ninetieth anniversary of Thomas Mann's birth will be of interest to readers of *Buddenbrooks*, who wish to follow up parallels between the Mann family history and that of the fictional family. The data begin with the recording of the birth of Johann Mann in 1644; they include part of an account of a visit to England by Johann Siegmund Mann in 1836 and the document appointing Thomas Johann Heinrich Mann as Dutch Consul in Lübeck in 1863. The latter's draft of a will in 1891 is a more personal testimony. The novelists' father expresses his misgivings about Heinrich's taking up a literary career and confidently expects that Thomas will find a practical vocation and be a support to his mother. The liquidation of the firm was to take place soon after the father's death.

The two early novels by Heinrich Mann, here reissued with a postscript by Hans Wolfheim, are very evidently the work of an author who has dissociated himself from the background of Thomas Johann Heinrich Mann. *Im Schlaraffenland* is a satirical novel of literary and fashionable life in Berlin in the early 1890s. Andreas Zumsee gains a footing in this circle when he becomes the lover and protégé of Frau Türkheimer, the wife of a successful and ruthless financial magnate. After he has entered into a relationship with Türkheimer's

## GEIST WRITERS

Deutscher Geist. Edited by Oskar Loerke and Peter Suhrkamp. 1,027pp. Suhrkamp Verlag. 2 Vols. DM.25 each.

A cultured German, glancing through the index of this mammoth anthology, remarked that at last it was possible to discover the origins of German street names and statues. This was not referring to Goethe-Strasse or Karl Marx Platz, the reasons for which are obvious, but to those monuments of local patriotism commemorating men admired by their fellow Germans rather than the world in general. It is often these lesser authors who are more representative of *Deutscher Geist* than those appealing to a wider public. In such compendious volumes the latter are, of course, not lacking, though they are sometimes seen in their less-known aspects.

The sub-title of the work is "ein Lesebuch aus zwei Jahrhunderten", and to the English this is misleading. We regard a *Lesebuch* as something we read to acquire German vocabulary, here it does not even mean an ordinary anthology; used to replace thorough reading; its aim is to awaken curiosity and the wish of the reader to go on exploring more works for himself. No real appetite can be aroused by disconnected morsels and this bane of prose anthologies has been avoided by presenting only rounded-off parts of works or whole essays. Suhrkamp has prefaced each sample with a brief life story of the respective author.

The scope of the two volumes is enormous, and every interest is catered for: history (which preponderates in the first book), literature, philosophy, religion and science; and the musician will be fascinated by Johann Nikolaus Forkel's description of Bach's piano-playing or

E. T. A. Hoffmann's *Alle und neue Kirchenmusik*.

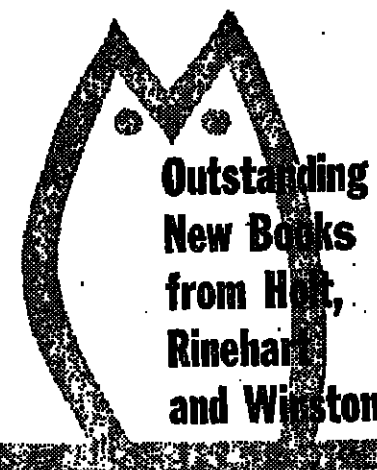
The work was secretly prepared in 1939 and published in 1940 to keep alive what was best in the "German spirit", even though such authors as

Heine, Marx, Freud, and Mann could not be included, an omission made good in this enlarged edition. It was released this year to commemorate the seventy-fifth birthday of the late Peter Suhrkamp.

## KLEIST WRITERS

HELMUT SEMBNER (Editor): *Heinrich von Kleists Nachleben*. 700pp. Bremen: Carl Schünemann. DM.27. *Kleists Aufsätze, Briefe, Märchen und Novellen*. 226pp. Berlin: Erich Schmidt, DM.28.

After his scholarly editions of Kleist's works and letters, of the journals Kleist himself edited, and of contemporary documents relating to Kleist's life and conversation, Helmut Sembner has now found new worlds to conquer. In a judicious selection of documents, ranging from obituaries to the *obiter dicta* of recent poets, he brings before us, in meaningful juxtaposition, the various interpretations to which Kleist's work and personality have been subjected since his death in 1811. The volume yields ample material for the history of critical opinion in Germany, or a history of critical vocabulary; there are also some hilarious sidelights on scholarly vanity and backbiting and on literary hoaxes, forgeries and thefts. It goes without saying that so well-judged a selection cannot fail to deepen the reader's sense of the complexity and perennial fascination of Kleist's work. Should he be left in any doubt, however, Herr Sembner has also brought together, in a symposium volume, ten recent



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## A CATHOLIC NOVELIST

By Heinrich Böll

IN THE EARLY and mid 1930s François Mauriac's novels came to us as revelations of an almost exotic kind. Southern French Catholicism, the scent of pines, vineyards, the "aristocracy of the cork", marriage as a prison with beautiful, sensitive young women rattling the bars: strange and unforgettable, even stranger than the Bavarian variety of that religion and Church of which we counted ourselves members. There were, of course, identification marks: "How many Sundays after Whitsun is it today?" And there were even tangible relics of a time which my mother's family had referred to as "the good old days": French prayer books for young ladies of "good family", put away in cardboard boxes and drawers, left over out of obscure inheritances from aunts or great-aunts and dragged from place to place with every move; prayer books filled with that fine-spin, thin, both sensual and sensitive mysticism smelling pretty strongly of Jansenism. *Le Baiser au lépreux*, *Thérèse Desqueyroux*, *Le Noeud de vipères* — a religious exoticism which the German youth movement was just in the process of driving out; the last sighs and cries of a Catholicism whose pleasure was about to perish along with its agony.

Will anyone ever realize that a Catholic may be a Catholic in exactly the same way as a Negro is a Negro? Questions and explanations are of little value. Catholicism cannot be removed from the skin or from the underclothes. What is the good of asking or answering questions like "Why do you believe?" "Why do I believe?" Neither the question nor the answer is a matter of conscience. Belief is either credible or it is incredible. And no one

to whom it appears the latter as incredible — will be helped by any explanation. Personally I find many explanations of disbelief as embarrassing as many explanations of belief. What distinguishes a thinking, an intellectual, a Left-wing, a Right-wing Catholic from any Portuguese agricultural labourer who not only has never read Teilhard, but possibly has never learnt to read at all: what distinguishes them when they put their hand into the font, cross themselves and genuflect? There is very little distinction between them, I should say.

I read the timetable of the Marianist school which François Mauriac attended in Bordeaux around the year 1905. Seven o'clock, Holy Communion Mass; nine o'clock, High Mass; ten-thirty, religious doctrine; one-thirty, Vespers. And then I read in Mauriac:

I beg the Marianists who educated me to forgive me for saying so, but I assure them that around 1905 the religious education we received was practically nil. I assure them that not one of their pupils in my class could have said, even in broad outline, to which objections a Catholic could produce an answer. On the other hand, our teachers were brilliantly capable of enveloping us in a heavenly haze within which every hour of the day trickled by. They moulded not a Catholic way of thinking, but a Catholic sensibility.

Good heavens, I don't believe that any Catholic thinking will have any chance of "preserving for the Church" the Portuguese peasant, if it ever dawns on him that for centuries he has been exploited, defrauded, betrayed, and that by the Church and its corporation as well as by others. If he begins to think, there will only be Marxist thinking for him. Catholic, Christian action might perhaps convince him. Mean-

while, since Mauriac's childhood since the 1920s and 1930s, when we read his unforgettable and to us exotic novels, the Catholic milieu (aristocratic, bourgeois, petty bourgeois — up to now I have found the Catholic proletariat only in Ireland, the one exception) is no longer a solution. Anyone who dips his hand in the font and genuflects is a Catholic — and just as marriages are made in heaven, so it is there, and not on earth, that explanations of belief or disbelief are tested for their credibility. The further Catholic thinking progresses, the fewer, the simpler become the ideological marks. If we cannot remove Catholicism from our skin and from our underclothes, then the only thing we can hope for is not the charity of thinking Catholics, but the charity of atheists. Naturally there are dreams, fine dreams, pseudo-dreams: the dream of the knight who wins justice for the poor by the sword; the dream of the virgin at the knight's side; and I have so much Lotharingian, Burgundian-Bretonian memory in my veins that I not only think I understand the dream but can even find it beautiful, and I know why I can so easily understand it and find it beautiful: because I am not French, knight and virgin would stand a chance only against their own society, their own environment: together with those whom western culture has denied for 1,900 years.

Hard times are coming for Catholics and Negroes, but also for the whites and for Catholic Negroes: perhaps they ought to confront each other not with bloodthirsty transcendences, but with the words of William Butler Yeats: "But I, being poor, have only my dreams. . . . I feel so because you tread on my dreams".

## French Literature

## GIDE'S HELLENISM

HELEN WATSON-WILLIAMS: *André Gide and the Greek Myth*. 200pp. Clarendon Press: O.U.P. 38s.

In turning her doctoral thesis into book-form Miss Watson-Williams has omitted her treatment of Gide's influence on later writers, while reshaping and expanding the critical discussion of his works to show how "they trace the heroic search for self-understanding and self-expression". The book demands to be considered on two levels. On the one hand it attempts to clarify the extent of Gide's lifelong interest in, and understanding of Hellenism, on the other it stands as a contribution to our understanding of Gide's own thought.

After a dubious opening chapter in which Gide's initial enthusiasm is too closely identified with that of his school friend, Pierre Louÿs, Miss Watson-Williams successfully establishes his continuing interest in things Greek. The extent to which he understood them proves more problematical, partly on account of the variety of interpretation proposed by those authorities on the Greek myth quoted in the course of the work. The task is rendered more difficult by failure to distinguish sufficiently between the essential myth and the treatment it received in ancient literature, as between the different manifestations of classical Greek, French and Goethean. On balance it appears that Gide was faithful to his own rational philosophy, rather than to the Greek spirit, in his essentially psychological approach to myth. Miss Watson-Williams' clarification thus reveals the thinness of her basic subject and justifies the book's shift in emphasis towards straightforward Gidian interpretation.

Only at the beginning and towards the end of his literary career did Gide produce works based on Greek mythology. Although Miss Watson-Williams' analysis is devoted to projects and theories of his major creative period between *Le Roi*

*Comédien* of 1901 and *Orphée* of 1931, these twenty pages cannot satisfactorily fill the space vacated by the inevitable exclusion of all his most successful works of fiction, from *L'immoraliste* to *Les Faux-Monnayeurs*. Such omission means that, on the general interpretative level, there is again no real subject. We are treated, for example, to discussion of Gide's "fundamental temperamental deficiency" with regard to human emotion, though the possi-

bility is not considered that his nature-based works do not allow the

empathy Miss Watson-Williams

sires because they are primarily

didactic.

Miss Watson-Williams' apprecia-

tion of some of Gide's individual

works, particularly his *Prométhée*

*mal enchainé* and his magnificent

*Thésée*, is often exciting and useful.

Her work remains one of the most

stimulating pieces of Gidian criticism

of recent years.

## DOUBTING CENTRE

E. IONESCO: *Journal en miettes*. 255pp. Paris: Mercure de France, 16.95fr.

Ionesco's fragmentary journal starts with a few memories from childhood, to remind us (and him) that long ago time did stand still and the present moment was all. But he became aware of his own mortality with an unwanted precocity, and ever since he has been struggling in vain to recover his foothold in the present moment, instead of slithering about between a regretted past and a doubtful future. *Journal en miettes* is desperately but modestly obsessed with Ionesco's dislike of death. Like Unamuno before him, though in a far quieter voice, he declares his need for personal immortality. "Take away death," he suggests, "and then would behave towards each other as they ought to behave: free from anxiety and envy. Ionesco is more than ready to counter all the pious arguments advanced against the hope of survival: he demolishes with particularly appealing skill the smug consolation offered by, among others, Matthew Arnold: "Man, hath no second life." "Pitch this one high!" Advice which is certain, as Ionesco points out, to make him people like himself even more incapable of living adequately.

*Journal en miettes* is full of a quiet

based works do not allow the empathy Miss Watson-Williams sires because they are primarily didactic.

Miss Watson-Williams' appreciation of some of Gide's individual works, particularly his *Prométhée mal enchainé* and his magnificent *Thésée*, is often exciting and useful. Her work remains one of the most stimulating pieces of Gidian criticism of recent years.

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*Thésée*, is often exciting and useful.

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## CHAPMAN LOUD AND BOLD

MILLAR MACLURE: *George Chapman. A Critical Study.* 241pp. Toronto University Press. London: Oxford University Press. £2 12s.

Millar MacLure has undertaken the first full-length study in English of a poet who was a strange but not a negligible figure in the crowded Elizabethan scene. Many critics have been attracted to Chapman and felt that he had something of greatness, but few have been capable of assessing so varied and difficult a genius. Chapman's range was astonishing even for his time. He wrote long poems and lyrics, comedies and tragedies. He translated not only the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* but also many minor works. Professor MacLure says:

I can claim that the reader will find all of Chapman here. I have neither cut anything out for the sake of a thesis, nor added anything for the sake of a striking analogy.

His book is the tribute of a fine scholar to a scholar-poet. If he claims less for him than in his heart he feels he deserves, it is because he would prefer the reader, with the evidence before him, to right the balance.

All of Chapman includes his faults, and none of them is overlooked. He was prolix and prosy. He prided himself on his learning but he had a fine contempt for mere grammarians and approached Homer's Greek by way of Latin translations which often led him astray. MacLure suspects "that he taught himself such Greek as he had: the Greek of the dictionary and of passionate enquiry, not of school exercises." He is bafflingly obscure, and the conflicting interpretations which critics have put upon such poems as "The Shadow of Night" and Ovid's "Banquet of Sense" hardly seem

worth the pains they have cost. He moralizes in season and out of season. His plays lack plot and his poems seem to lack form, which is all the more curious when form is what they are about. His philosophy, if philosophy it may be called, is hopelessly eclectic. His thought is basically Christian, strongly stoic, and all rolled up in a dense cloud of neo-platonism, to the exasperation of Professor MacLure, whose patience is not easily exhausted.

So what is to be set upon the other side? Vigour, toughness, industry, an immense inventiveness, the power to make that most unattractive line, the fourteeneter, metrically effective? These are not the core. Pope, who by no means despised his predecessor, declared him "an Enthusiast in Poetry". Lamb found that "passion (the all in all in poetry) is everywhere present, raising the low, dignifying the mean, and putting sense into the absurd." It was a passion and enthusiasm for the things of the mind. Chapman valued a kind of inward illumination, to be sought in a dazzling darkness and expressed in poetic hieroglyphics, legible to the initiate. In this spirit he flung himself upon Homer, approaching him not as a scholar approaches a text to be translated but as a preacher opens scripture. Professor MacLure shows how this infatuated didacticism affected in particular his version of the *Odyssey*, for *Odysseus* was famed for his wisdom and Chapman prized wisdom above all things. Unhappily, by the time he came to the *Odyssey* his notion of wisdom had hardened and narrowed into "interpolated copy-

book maxims of righteousness".

Chapman was not very often successful in doing the difficult thing he was trying to do. Yet the pressure to bring form out of chaos, to make nature obey art, was extreme in him. It generated a kind of sultry heat which is impossible to ignore and hard to define. His intellectual passion confuses criticism. To see him as dry and pedantic, expounding a logical system of thought, is to have no true picture, for he does this very imperfectly. The fact that he appears to do it at all accounts for the many critical expositions of, for instance, his tragedies as consistent political moralities. Yet his poetry is always handling abstractions and ideas. This may suggest the school of Donne, but he is not really very like Donne. He is more like Shelley. He had no wish to banish the gods, ancient train of gods and goddesses. He considerably extended it. Personages such as Ecce, Eromus and Agneia are liable to pop up like rabbits. Eromus is an extraordinary creation, who could appear on the cover of a science-fiction magazine. Professor MacLure explains to an untutored eye that classical mythology "provided a vocabulary for 'philosophical' thought, a dense texture of cosmological symbol analogous to the anthropological lore available to the twentieth-century 'learned' poet."

There is no very fat living to be earned by Chapman's kind of poetry, however lush its external trappings may be. He was less well placed economically than Daniel and Greville, the poets to whom he is most akin. It

was not his fate to sit back in tranquillity and ease and compose closet dramas. The demands of the commercial theatre helped to bring him out of his inner sanctuary and made him speak less obliquely, though in tones that still tend to carry an oracular thrill. Today he is undoubtedly most studied and most admired in the character of tragic dramatist. Professor MacLure puts in a special plea for his comedies. A keen sense of the disordered, of divided and distinguished worlds, is as likely to produce comedy as tragedy, and even likelier to produce tragic-comedy. Chapman's tragic heroes live by other values than those of the milieu to which they are confined. Their tragedy is that they are heroic and life is not. This is something that Marlowe discovered when he failed to spin Tamburlaine's thread out any longer. It is in every play he wrote thereafter and one wonders, had he survived, what else Marlowe would have found to write about. It does not seem to have caused him undue distress. He was a very detached writer, and it is ironic that it is his critical fate to be forever equated personally with his heroes.

Chapman too was interested in over-teaching, because it is part of

the process of achieving high aims. In some ways, he is an unhappy and more involved Marlowe. It is not for nothing that he undertook to finish *Hero and Leander*, drawn by what he called "strange instigation". He grappled the inner logic of Marlowe's not very moral fable, saw that his lovers were death-marked when and because they reached out—in the most natural way—for fuller life. Though one might suppose his heavy-handed moralizing must infatigably crush through the gossamer-structure of Marlowe's poem, it does nothing of the sort. His vision of what Shakespeare called "living art," of the beauty as well as the propriety of passion harmoniously controlled, enabled him to weave another kind of web, as delicate and artificial, more symmetrical and exact. It turns the enchanting puppets into an object-lesson, and like most teachers he goes on too long. His emblematic figures are too elaborately drawn. His conceits hold up the action. His axioms sound trite. In the end it becomes apparent that he is writing an inferior poem; but it is inferior to nothing less than Marlowe's, and you could build a whole reputation on that.

## LORE OF OPPOSITES

CHARLES BERRYMAN: *W. B. Yeats: Design of Opposites.* A Critical Study. 149pp. New York: Exposition Press. \$6.

RICHARD ELLMANN: *Yeats and Joyce.* Vol. XI of the Dolmen Press Yeats Centenary Papers MCMLXV. pp. 447-479. Dublin: Dolmen Press. London: Oxford University Press. 7s. 6d.

*Yeats and Patrick McCartan: a Fenian Friendship.* Letters with a commentary by John Unterecker and an address on Yeats the Fenian by Patrick McCartan. Vol. X of Dolmen Press Yeats Centenary Papers, pp. 335-441. Dublin: Dolmen Press. London: Oxford University Press. 21s.

"Without contraries is no progression. Attraction and Repulsion, Reason and Emory, Love and Hate, are necessary to Human existence." It is a commonplace that Blake's assertion in *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell* marks a fundamental commitment in Yeats's symbolism. Charles Berryman is the latest critic to concern himself with this design of opposites. Perhaps he was led to this interest by his teacher at Yale, Professor Cleanth Brooks. Indeed, much of his idiom consorts with Mr. Brooks's vocabulary of paradox, irony, and tension. But the problem is to say anything new in this idiom. Mr. Berryman is an intelligent critic, but practically everything he says in the first part of his book has been said before, many times. When he applies the lore of opposites and contrariety, in the second part, he occasionally says something interesting and new, especially about the early play, *The Island of Statues*, and the story *John Sherman*, but the harvest is thin. It seems clear that the really new work on Yeats will take the design of opposites for granted and start from there.

Much of Mr. Berryman's lore is already available in work by Richard Ellmann, Northrop Frye, Hazard Adams, Virginia Moore and other critics. Indeed, Mr. Ellmann's new pamphlet, one of the Dolmen Centenary Papers, can be read as an extension of his early essay, "Robartes and Abernethy". The method is juxtaposition. Mr. Ellmann places Yeats and Joyce side by side, for a moment, in the landscape of modern literature. The historical justification, "but it seems to me that the two poets are, in fact, the same person," is a famous line in Dublin in August, 1902, when Stephen Dedalus confronted Old Rocky Face and decided that the possibilities of instruction were limited. The pamphlet, incidentally, is about to figure as the third chapter of Mr. Ellmann's new book, *Emblematic Domain*, in which the method of juxtaposition is deployed upon Yeats, Wilde, Joyce, Eliot, Pound and Auden. It is a method congenial to the precision and urbanity of Mr. Ellmann's mind. There is no insistence, suggestive as Mr. Ellmann is, that there is always a point beyond which he is not prepared to push the design of opposites. What he says, therefore, has the added force available from all the other things which he has elected to leave unsaid. There are many things to be said about Yeats's reading of *Anna Livia Plurabelle*, for instance, Mr. Ellmann

is content to say one of them, and leave the rest in silence.

Much as he admired it, he could not sanction the suspension of the actor faculties, which in *Ulysses* he had as the rejection of eye and ear. He worried then over the "rambling mind" but now, made aware of its intensely lyrical qualities of Joyce's work, he evolved for it the image of the sounding bell. Yeats to concentrate intently on the night mind was impossible for Yeats; to do so, even in his last poems, where everything estimable is imperilled, he remained stubbornly loyal to the conscious mind's intelligible structure.

More detailed comment on Mr. Ellmann's essay may be postponed until the arrival of *Emblematic Domain*. Mr. Unterecker's pamphlet is a record of the friendship of Yeats and Patrick McCartan, mainly focused on the founding of the Irish Academy of Letters. Yeats got the idea, it appears, from the Swedish Academy which had awarded him the Nobel Prize in 1923. McCartan was extremely helpful and active in raising money, mostly American money. But the friendship went beyond the financial occasions. It is evident that Yeats took to McCartan, from the first, and admired his energy and magnanimity. Mr. Unterecker prints many of Yeats's letters to his friend, and a few from Oliver St. John Gogarty. There was a link of course, Yeats thought well of his friend, but not well enough to preserve his letters. Anyway the Academy was launched in 1934, despite Yeats's refusal to join. In its first year it awarded prizes, and other years it directed attention to good work in English and Irish, but it seems to have petered out a few years ago.

Mr. Unterecker is mainly concerned to print the available correspondence and to give the necessary background. There are one or two small errors in his commentary, such as a confusion between Desmond Fitzgerald and the 28th Knight of the Glyn, but nothing of any gravity. Here and there a little more comment would help. Dealing with one of Yeats's poems on Roger Casement, Mr. Unterecker gives the names of Alfred Noyes and Spring Rice, dated from an early letter. Noyes died later in a controversy in the *Irish Press*, so comment is unnecessary, but Mr. Unterecker seems to assume that Spring Rice is common knowledge. Not so, even in gossip-column Dublin. The whole pamphlet is more a footnote to Yeats's life than a work of printing.

## Discovery

*The Journals of Captain James Cook on his Voyages of Discovery.* Volume III. The Voyage of the Resolution and Discovery 1776-1780. Edited by J. C. Beaglehole. Part I, 718pp. Part 2, pp. 719-1647. Cambridge University Press for the Hakluyt Society. £15 15s.

MAX VILLIERS: *Captain Cook, the Seamen's Seaman.* 256pp. Illustrations by Adrian Small. Hodder and Stoughton. 35s.

I have taken Dr. Beaglehole more time to produce his impressive edition of the journals of Cook's three voyages than Cook took to sail them. Volume III brings his long journey to an end, though a fourth volume of essays and lists "is promised." Volume III has had to be bound in a separate volume, of the whole work is, of course, designed primarily for the serious historian, but the trepidation with which the editor says he has seen this vast volume will surely be shared by the general reader who wishes to dip into a work of great authority. Special difficulties arise in the presentation of Cook's third voyage because his journal ceases a month before his death in Hawaii in February, 1779. The whole voyage, in its end in August, 1780, is completed in Part I by a patchwork of chapters from the journals of Cook, King, Burney and others; the supplementary Part II consists largely of the unpublished journals of two surgeons, William Anderson (who died before Cook) and David Samuel. The reader's sheet of paper in this complex literary jigsaw will be the editor's introductory essay, but a more easily accessible set of maps would have been

of the North West Passage from Europe to Calcutta had long gripped the imaginations of adventurous sea-bred gentlemen. Cook's expedition was a breeding ground of rumours and of sailors' tales. For two centuries before Cook mariners had sought the eastern entry of a navigable strait across North America and had drawn blanks of misery and

heroism all the way from Hudson's Bay to Ballin Land. Ice imposed a firm negative to their ships, but so long as they believed that a Polar Sea must be ice-free because only fresh water can make ice they would not take the icy no for an answer. There must be two ends to this problem, and in the middle of the eighteenth century there was a strong disposition to attack it by probing the almost unknown north-western American coast from the North Pacific. The Spaniards had been in North California; so had Drake briefly in his North Albion; and in the far north the Russians through Bering, Chirikov and others knew more than they would tell about Bering Strait, Bering Sea and the Aleutian Islands, where they had already begun their slaughter of its fur-bearing animals and its natives.

Cook, supreme after his first two voyages, was the obvious choice to command this new adventure. But Dr. Beaglehole begins his account of the third voyage on a firmly ominous note. Cook at forty-seven was a tired man whose friends did him a disservice when they tempted him much too quickly out of his seclusion at Greenwich Hospital to volunteer; and disservice led to disaster. He was too busy preparing his second voyage for publication to keep a strict eye on how the profiteers of Deptford were blotting the reef of Resolution and Discovery. Thus he sailed too soon with a couple of leaky, ill-fought ships and a couple of inaccurate and very confusing maps of the northern convergence of the Asian and American coasts. His

orders were to go the long way round, via the South Atlantic and the South Pacific, to his goal, a thorough exploration of all eastward trending arms of the sea between latitudes 45° and 65°.

Dr. Beaglehole assembles some telling instances of decline in Cook's magnificent nose for discovery. He stopped at Tasmania without bothering to confirm his assumption that it was attached to Australia. When contrary winds lost him his first summer on the American coast he lay at the Friendly Islands without bothering to look for the Fijis or Samoa. But when he left Tahiti to sail north and east through unknown seas to New Albion he discovered the Sandwich Islands and recovered his finest form. His running survey of the wild, storm-tossed coastline between California and the Alaskan Peninsula, in face of the necessity to reconcile what he saw with what his maps said he should see (when he could see anything through the fog), is a fine example of his most resolute work.

He ultimately broke through to the Bering Sea at the eastern end of the Aleutian arc and followed the Alaskan coastline through Norton Sound to Bering Strait. There was no eastward-bound strait; there was only, when the Arctic mainland trended east, an illimitable icefield which threatened to embay him. Before he turned back to winter in Hawaii he must have known he was leading a wild goose chase. But next summer, to make sure, he would have another go. He did not have another go. Dr. Beaglehole develops his argument that there were two Cooks. There was the passionate, irascible eighteenth-century commander who could stamp his deck in rage at an erring

subordinate. There was another Cook who schooled himself to go unarmed in a reasonable gentleness among Polynesian natives who were mostly friendly but inveterate thieves and liars. So—whether or not they really believed him to be a god—he established his ascendancy over them, and so when for a moment he faced a threatening crowd and lost control of himself by shooting to kill, he lost his ascendancy and his life. If he could have made a clean exit from Kealakekua Bay after his ships had overstayed their welcome there all might still have been well. But he had to put back there because Resolution broke a mast. That mast was perhaps his last straw. There is an unfinished controversy about exactly what happened on February 14, 1779, which Dr. Beaglehole's assemblage of witnesses does not resolve. He concludes:

What, then, made Cook fire? There seems no other answer possible than that at that critical moment his desperately controlled temper went; then, at that time of all times, the strained cord snapped; and with it broke whatever thread of uncertainty was holding back the crowd. Very likely, with the release of action, he recovered himself. He could not recover the critical moment. The rest is anticlimax. The command passed to Charles Clerke, his second-in-command, a man cast in a gentler but still heroic mould, who knew that he was dying of consumption but went north for another summer. He put in for supplies at Avacha Bay, Kamchatka, and thence wrestled with the ice of 70° latitude as unavailingly as Cook had done. The last words in his journal before he died at Avacha Bay on the way south are:

I therefore think it is the best step I

can take for the good of the service to trace the ice over to the Asiatic Coast, try if I can find a Hole that will admit me any farther North, if not see what to be done upon that Coast where I hope but cannot much flatter myself with meeting better success, for this Sea is now so choked with ice that I fear a passage is totally out of the question.

The voyage home was uneventful. Resolution and Discovery docked still holding together, most of their crews alive, none dead of scurvy. There were no plaudits and few awards. A century and a half later C. A. Larsen, in a ship specially constructed to move in ice-choked seas, demonstrated the existence of an utterly useless North West Passage.

Mr. Villiers writes relatively briefly and with the utmost admiration for his subject in a study of Cook by one who has commanded some of the last of square-rigged sail in some of Cook's own tracks. He would put Dr. Beaglehole among the greatest of what he calls "the literary discoverers". There is too much purple in Mr. Villiers's writing, but when this is checked he has a taut, economical command of narrative that is racy, full of prejudice and often full of fun. He supplies what Dr. Beaglehole's journalists never do, some very sharp vignettes of what it was like for Cook's "People" to be cooped up for years on one of his voyages, and why, in spite of the stink of hardship, they loved it and him. He ends with an assertion that probably remains true when even Dr. Beaglehole has assembled his last words—we know what this great seaman did, but we do not know with any finality what manner of man he was. It might be well for one who knows nothing of the vast prospect to look at it through Mr. Villiers's eyes before embarking with Dr. Beaglehole.

## COAST STORY

R. S. MACNUTT: *The Atlantic Provinces. The Emergence of Colonial Society 1712-1837.* 305pp. The Canadian Centenary Series. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart. London: OUP. £2 5s.

It must be confessed that the commander does not open a history which is usually called "The Maritime Provinces" with much hope of excitement. In ordinary memory the extensions of Canada were produced only two romantic tales, Evangeline and Lord Beaverbrook, but when they are called to mind the American tourist is almost always as bigger versions of the "Ancient Kingdom" of the Gulf of St. Lawrence. Mr. MacNutt shows how the Atlantic Provinces were shaped by a highly critical if not admiring attitude to some provincial legends and his candour does not spare other provincial notables. He says of the "Mother Country", "Imperial policy of it can be called that) was a series of theories of empire and empire that had no relevance to the realities of the colonies. The American Revolution was a revolution of growth, economic and religious (like Mr. Thwackum, the progress of religion was the progress of the Church of England). In Prince Edward Island the land system was almost Irish in its origin and odiousness. Professor MacNutt, we may be sure, is conscious of what he is doing when he writes of the revolt of Highlanders against a priest identified with the landlords."

Professor MacNutt makes the loyalty of Nova Scotia to the American Revolution was "unconditional" love, partly the result of a bad geographical situation, the isolation of New Brunswick, and partly the result of the "Mother Country" being a more basically Protestant and odiousness. The schisms were "Anti-Burgher". The schisms of Scotia Antiqua were exported to Nova Scotia, just as O'Connell inspired more than Catholic dissent in Newfoundland and even on the mainland.

But finding a market for Cape Breton coal was as much a problem as "the Crown Rights of Christ", and the burgeoning seal trade compensated in part for the decline of the fisheries. The rulers, lay and clerical, now had more to worry about than the incidence of incest and Newfoundland began that life of constitutional vicissitudes that lasted until it became the tenth province of Canada. Some issues are as dead as the plaster of Paris trade from Eastport, Maine; some are still as alive as when William Carson, from the Stewarts of Kirkcubright, took up the grievances of all the outsiders. This is an intelligent and remarkably interesting book.

There were, of course, devoted defenders of the imperial ideal, like the zealous Irish priest Edmund Burke, who was what was called a "Castle Catholic". And both Scots and Irish Catholics were in revolt against the remote French ecclesiastical establishment in Quebec. Other dissenters upset the plans of Halifax and London. Baptists and Methodists compelled, more than successfully, with the torpid Anglicans. It took a Presbyterian nobleman, Dalhousie, to do something effective for higher education, and the Inglis bishops, father and son, were among the most depressing critics of the Anglican clergy.

Of course, Professor MacNutt has much more to do than to recount "the wars of the Godly" which, in largely Irish Newfoundland, were marked by a violence imported from the mother country. Yet in that remote day, it was worth noting that some Presbyterian congregations were "Anti-Burgher". The schisms of Scotia Antiqua were exported to Nova Scotia, just as O'Connell inspired more than Catholic dissent in Newfoundland and even on the mainland.

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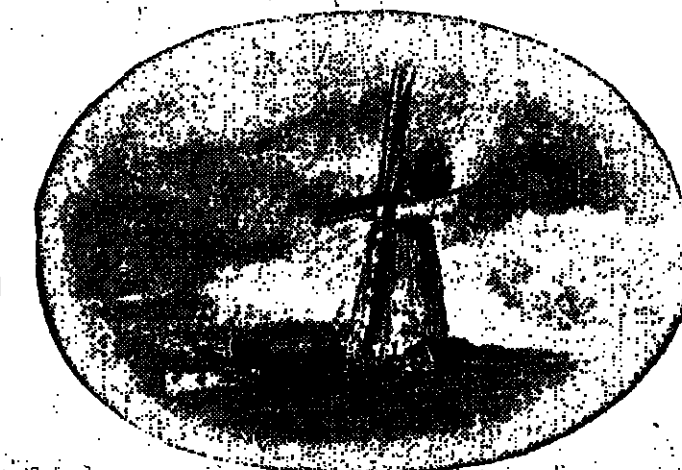
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## THEODOR ADORNO

RESURGENT ENERGIES released by the sudden expansion of a culture are traditionally given credit for those mysterious explosions of creativity whose inner mechanism remains obscure. The reverse case, that of a social order whose dissolution promotes new forms of consciousness, has less to commend it so far as public opinion is concerned. The favourite epithet for the spirit of such an age is "self-conscious" or "cerebral"; the conventional reproach a sustained lament over the passing of greatness. Even quite major achievements tend to be viewed with suspicion—one need only recall the unfriendly reception accorded to the new psychology in its own homeland (not to mention the argument that its founder had generalized unduly from the nervous complaints of Viennese ladies). Where new art forms are concerned, criticism frequently abandons its proper concerns for metaphysics. Stylistic novelties will be deplored, not on aesthetic grounds, but as signaling a falling away from the standards of a lost "organic" age. Such censure fastens impartially upon *fin-de-siècle* weariness and

radical innovations born from a desire to have done with worn-out modes of expression. Traditionalism consigns all departures from a supposedly fixed and immutable norm to a cultural limbo labelled "decadence". If the critic happens to be domiciled east of what used to be known as the Iron Curtain, he is likely to protest that these fashionable novelties are in truth the last despairing manifestations of a dying bourgeois culture. Judgments of this kind, whether advanced by Christian or Communist *blat-pensant*, employ a Hegelian concept (the "spirit of the age") to obscure Hegel's principal discovery: contradiction is not external to reality, but built into its structure. Obsolete forms typically co-exist with the first stirrings—frequently crude enough—of new modes of consciousness. Because a culture has disintegrated it does not follow that its ultimate accomplishments are "decadent" in the pejorative sense assigned to the term by traditionalists or blood-and-soil enthusiasts. What can legitimately be inferred is something else: the likelihood that reflective intelligence has become dissociated from a sensibility linked to

petrified customs and dying creeds. Unquestionably such a state of affairs does not favour modes of expression normally dependent upon acceptance of ancient folkways. But to acknowledge this is merely to say that some achievements are historically unique and irrecoverable. It is no indictment of a mature civilization to concede that its best minds are unlikely to be engaged in the composition of epic poems.

Historical judgments in any case do not exhaust the significance of what by its nature transcends the social texture of life in any given epoch. Because both Hegel and Marx were aware of this, it has been possible for critics steeped in the Hegelian tradition to evade the intellectual straitjacket imposed upon loyal party members by the prevailing orthodoxy in Eastern Europe. Such guerrilla action, however, remains perilous and at best is confined to an avant-garde. Westward the outlook brightens for the nonconformist, albeit for reasons unconnected with the prestige of Hegelian Marxism. Freedom to expound this (or any other) doctrine is purchased at the cost of a general tolerance extended to all comers—a spurious equalization of chances which in practice favours the owners of the mass media and the purveyors of commercial slush (frequently the same people). In the competitive struggle to market his ideas, the philosopher is no better off than the middle-brow novelist or the producer of pop art—indeed rather worse off. If he benefits from the freedom casually granted to critics of the new consensus, he is also made aware that his strictures do not impinge directly upon those in control. For the most part his audience will be confined to a minority among the educated.

Considerations of this sort are relevant to the work of a central European critic comparatively unknown in Britain, though not in the

United States, where for some years he figured among the influential group of German-born emigrants cast adrift by the National-Socialist upheaval. If the name of Theodor Adorno evokes an immediate response from Americans familiar with contemporary sociological literature, the simplest explanation is Adorno's co-authorship of the weighty (in every sense) collection of studies issued in 1950 under the title *The Authoritarian Personality*. Although sponsored by the American Jewish Committee, this investigation into the psychology of religious and racial animosities was not limited to the topic of anti-Semitism. In the approved manner of other melting-pot studies it had much to say about ethnic minorities and acculturation in general, the typical stresses of immigrant life in a "pluralist" culture not always being clearly discriminated from the more specific issue of racial paranoia. The material was processed and put together by investigators affiliated to the Institute of Social Research—himself transferred to the United States by the group of scholars who had originally staffed it in Frankfurt am Main until compelled to emigrate by the advent of the Third Reich.

It was perhaps fortuitous that Adorno (who from 1934 to 1937 spent much of his time at Oxford working on a critique of Husserl's philosophy) should have been associated with this particular enterprise. But having taken the plunge and agreed to contribute a lengthy theoretical chapter, he brought to bear the complex (theoretical) apparatus—derived in about equal parts from Marx, Freud, and Max Weber—which the *Institut für Sozialforschung* had gradually assembled in the 1920s, and which by 1933 had made Frankfurt one of the intellectual centres of the Weimar Republic. If the finished product seemed barely digestible to some readers, part of the

fault perhaps lay with the soggy academic prose in which the author's perceptions had to be wrapped in order to achieve the gravity proper to a work published under the auspices of the Social Science Research Council and the Research Board of the University of California. In any case Adorno's involvement with this particular branch of learning had further consequences, and the episode was terminated (to everyone's relief, one may surmise) with his own and the Institute's return to Frankfurt in the late 1940s.

He was returning to the city where he had been born in 1903, the son of a wealthy businessman and a mother of Italian non-Jewish origin, a gifted musician from whom he inherited his passion for music (and whose essay he took as a writer). Casual reminiscences suggest an uncommonly happy childhood, followed by schooling in Frankfurt, where he attended the university and obtained his doctorate with a dissertation on Husserl (the basis of the book-length study published many years later). The offspring of a well-to-do father willing to support his son's brilliant career as philosopher, composer, and musicologist, he was in an unusually fortunate position, well integrated to the social and cultural life of his native city, and thus spared some of the tribulations common among intellectuals who grew up in the turbulent years of the Weimar Republic. Something of the ease of grace that goes with such happy circumstances has clung to him—also perhaps a certain inability to make contact with the common lot of men. When in the early 1930s he moved to Vienna to study music, he was natural—given his talent and family connections—that he should establish personal ties with Schoenberg, Alban Berg, von Webern, Křenek, Steuermann, Kolisch, and other representatives of the modern school. Back in Frankfurt his

relation as *Privatdozent* in 1931 was sponsored by Paul Tillich. By then the *Institut für Sozialforschung* had come into being, but contact at first was informal. It does not seem that Adorno during these pre-Hitler years took much notice of the Institute's political and ideological affiliations, or the personal friendship with Max Horkheimer, then and for many years its director, acquired a political character only under the impact of events which shattered what until then had been a conventionally brilliant academic career.

Yet the American interlude in the case of the Institute, and of Adorno himself, has a significance transcending the biographical circumstance that a group of predominantly German intellectuals chose to spend the 1930s years in the United States rather than elsewhere. By 1933 the *Institut für Sozialforschung* had come to represent a remarkable distillation of several distinct, though interrelated, forms of contemporary thought: Marxism on the one hand, sociology in the tradition of Weber and Simmel on the other, with psychoanalysis lately added to the list and rapidly becoming an instrument of interdisciplinary thought in the newly mapped territory connecting social, educational, and critical studies.

The Marxism was of a non-dogmatic kind: Lukács was associated with the Institute, but so were critics like Karl Korsch who had broken not only with the Communist party, but with Leninism as a doctrine. To balance the party-line rigidity of anti-Stalinists in the 1930s, Lukács in later years the most emboldened of anti-Stalinists in the 1930s, Lukács of Truntau and Eisenstein were others who had announced their attachment to the social-democratic tradition. No student of the *Zeitschrift für Sozialforschung* could for a moment be in doubt as to the Marxian inspiration behind the critical essays on contemporary philosophy and sociology contributed to the Institute's director. But—and this constituted the peculiar fascination of the journal in the 1930s—the Marxism was not that of Moscow. In

deed Marx was rarely mentioned, Lenin never. The cryptic terms employed by Horkheimer and Adorno to designate their system of beliefs served as the outward sign of an orientation which systematically discriminated between Marxism and what was going on in the Soviet Union. Hence the decision after 1933 to move the Institute to Switzerland, and later to New York, rather than to the East, came as no surprise to the initiated, who at that time still included some Soviet sympathizers. Coming at a moment when the Weimar Republic lay in ruins and when orthodox Communists (Lukács among them) had transferred themselves to the Soviet Union, the decision to "go West" took on a symbolic note whose meaning became clearer as the years passed and the Institute's identification with the cause of Western democracy gradually assumed a more principled character. It is no coincidence that those former members of the group who made their fundamental choice in those years have remained on the Western side of the great divide. If even so pronounced a critic of contemporary Western society as Herbert Marcuse has settled down in California (where the politically less engaged and intellectually more tolerant Leo Löwenthal had preceded him), it is no cause for wonder that Horkheimer and Adorno returned to Frankfurt in 1948-49; soon to occupy prominent positions at the university and in particular at the revived and reorganized Institute for social studies—now shorn of its ancient political connections and transformed into a flourishing centre of the new academic sociology.

Yet something of the old attachment has survived and been transmitted to a new generation. To read the work of Professor Jürgen Habermas, perhaps the most original and distinguished among the present generation of west German philosophers, is to make contact with a mind at once profoundly Germanic, wholly contemporary and unmistakably steeped in the Hegelian-Marxist tradition.

Nor is he alone. The massive *Festschrift* presented to Adorno on

the occasion of his sixtieth birthday in 1963 can stand as a monument to something besides his own individual work, and possibly of greater lasting import: the fusion of classical German philosophy with empirical research in the social sciences, in psychology, and in the most up-to-date forms of literary and art criticism. West Germany today, unlike its Eastern neighbour beyond the Wall, provides a meeting-place of Marxism and modernism. Some such encounter had already begun in the later years of the Weimar Republic and, but for the catastrophic eruption of counter-revolution and war, might have set the tone for the intellectual elite in the country as a whole. If its actual resonance is now confined to the *Heimliche Linke*—the home-blessed Left of the Federal Republic—the blame rests with others: not least with the east German Communists who (Brecht and Bloch notwithstanding) have remained firmly stuck in the primitive populism of their Russian masters, complete with Victorian morals, a "socialist-realist" *Kitch*, and an undialectical copy-theory of perception lengthily and boringly expounded not only in the official party literature but even in so heterodox a work as Lukács's multi-volume treatise on aesthetics.

To inquire how this group of intellectuals came to evolve its peculiar synthesis of traditional and contemporary thinking is to touch upon a highly sensitive nerve, for the question leads straight to that forbidden topic, the German-Jewish symbiosis (forbidden to some Jews as well as to most Germans, one might add). The subject is not rendered less delicate by the pro-Western orientation of an intelligentsia which had notoriously made Paris its spiritual home at a time when patriotic Germans were taught to resist the inroads of the subversive Gallic spirit. The ancestors of this particular tradition include Marx and Heine—two Francophiles from the Rhineland who on this account alone appeared suspect to German nationalists. The circumstance has often been noted that German Jewry represented the only consistently pro-Western element in the Reich founded by Bismarck and irretrievably wrecked by Hitler. From

1918 to 1933, during that chaotically brilliant interlude between two upheavals, liberalism and Marxism alike were heavily dependent upon a group which stood a little apart from the main body of the national community—and consequently represented one of Germany's few links with the outside world. The subject cannot be pursued here. It must be enough to say that the modernism of Ernst Bloch, Walter Benjamin or Theodor Adorno was as important a factor in rendering them unpopular as their more or less orthodox Marxism. Benjamin, in some ways the most original representative of that remarkable generation, combined religious mysticism and Marxism in proportions difficult to unravel even for assiduous students of his essays and letters (now published in west Germany by Suhrkamp). The significance of this extraordinary writer is far from exhausted when one has described him as the friend of Brecht, the translator of Proust, and the author of that historical and critical masterpiece, *Ursprung des deutschen Trauerspiels*. He is one of those disturbing figures in whom an impending catastrophe casts a premonitory shadow. His suicide in 1940, when detained with other fugitives while trying to cross from France into Spain, was among the many unrecorded tragedies of that disastrous year.

It has to be said that "tragedy" is not a term one readily associates with Benjamin's friend and pupil Theodor Adorno. The two men had become acquainted when Adorno was still a student, while Benjamin—his senior by more than ten years—already held a position of some importance as a reviewer for the *Frankfurter Zeitung* and other journals. Adorno's early work centred on musical composition, but his and Benjamin's writings in the later 1920s overlapped in the area of literary criticism. Retrospectively Benjamin appears as the inventor of a critical manner, even a distinctive style, which owed something to his philosophical training as a neo-Kantian, more to his early familiarity with the tradition

established by the Romantic school of literary historians, and most of all to his personal idiosyncrasies. Of this style it has been said with truth that no one but a German can possibly fathom its complexities, and that few Germans even are likely to have either the patience or the erudition necessary to cope with its intricacies. There is indeed something faintly perverse about a passion for language (Benjamin rivalled Proust and Valéry in his concern for the medium, and Adorno has inherited the trait) resulting in a mode of expression so mannered, hermetic and remote from ordinary discourse, German admittedly is not an ideal instrument for a writer who aspires to the clarity of the great French essayists—unless, that is, he takes the easy way out (as Heine did) and settles for superficial elegance and a sustained endeavour to be bright and amusing.

Ever since Karl Kraus, in a celebrated essay titled "Heine und die Folgen" (*Die Fackel*, April, 1910) had pronounced sentence upon this particular style (by then a mere parody of its original) the more serious practitioners of the craft had felt under an obligation to differentiate themselves from the purveyors of *feuilleton*. The solution they hit upon was to write as though they were addressing themselves to their friends plus a small circle of the elect: an operation which went easily with the aestheticism of the period (cf. Lukács's *Theorie des Romans*, first published in 1916). What Benjamin added to this esoteric manner was the complexity of the born metaphysician. At its best the finished product was Kantian in its intellectual rigour and almost Goethean in its profusion of metaphor. But—and here one re-enters the domain of public affairs—the cultivation of this style was at variance with the democratic beliefs held by the left-wing intellectuals of the Weimar Republic, whether liberals or Marxists. Neither Benjamin nor Adorno escaped from the dilemma, though the former (urged on by Brecht) did his best for a while to sound matter-of-fact when applying the sociological canon to his favourite topic, the great French poets of the previous century. The

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problem appears to be insoluble. In Adorno's case it has, since his return to West Germany, led to the typically Central European compromise whereby a scholar is permitted to address newspaper or radio audiences in what is assumed to be his normal idiom, on condition that he composes his serious writings in the cramped and hermetic fashion proper to the academic world. The truth obliges one to add that Adorno's natural bent is best served by a diction remote from ordinary usage, a circumstance which lends a certain charm to his occasional descents into the popular arena.

It is a tribute to the seriousness of the West German public that so difficult a writer has over the years become an established figure beyond the academic compound and (by way of paperback reprints) begun to reach a wider audience. But then there are two Adornos (not counting the former head of the Radio Research Programme at Princeton in 1938-41, and the onetime director of the Research Project on Social Discrimination at the University of California, Los Angeles, in 1944-49). There is the author of weighty studies on Husserl and Hegel, and alongside him the essayist who won his spurs as a music critic in the 1920s and who has retained something of the facility of the born reviewer. Adorno's range is extraordinary, and while his output cannot compare for sheer size with that of Lukács, he has consistently maintained standards of intellectual rigour and literary elegance beyond the modest aspirations of East European theoreticians. By now his published work extends over four decades and—setting aside the years spent in the United States and Britain—may be regarded as a rounded whole. Beginning as a composer and interpreter of modern music in Vienna and Frankfurt in the early 1920s, then moving to literary criticism and aesthetic theory later in the decade, he published his first major work, a study of Kierkegaard, in the calamitous year 1933, having himself just turned thirty. Aesthetics has remained at the core of his thinking, but the philosopher and the sociologist were given free rein in the years following his enforced departure from Germany in 1934, while his return fifteen years later inaugurated a new phase, culminating last year in a major philosophical study, *Negative Dialectik*. This, as it were, completes the circle, for Adorno's aim here is nothing less than the restoration of classical German philosophy in general, and the Hegelian tradition in particular, to what he regards as their rightful place in the philosophical canon.

A systematic account of the entire oeuvre, if it were practicable, would presumably disclose numerous links between the creative, the critical, and the more strictly philosophical concerns underlying the development of a writer who has filled such a multiplicity of roles—always with distinction, at times in an unexpected guise (e.g., as the unnamed source of Thomas Mann's reflections on Beethoven in chapter VIII of *Doktor Faustus*). Even the bare enumeration of his titles and writings published or republished in West Germany since the war has a substantial encyclopaedic ring, and even this list is far from exhaustive. Recent essay collections (some of them in paperback) include one under the title *Minima moralia*, which assembles critical studies going back to 1928. A number of rather more technical *Lehrschriften* (Zur Musiktheorie, *Praxis* appear in a volume titled *Der gestrichelte Kreis* (Berlin: S. Fischer, Vol. 1963). *Der Studien Hegel* (another paperback issued by Suhrkamp in 1963), reprints the earlier *Aspekte der Hegelschen Philosophie* plus two additional lectures (one of them delivered at the Sorbonne). *Engelsteine kritische Modelle* (Suhrkamp, 1963) presents the author in the guise of a semi-popular preacher. German titles on topics ranging from the contemporary function of philosophy to the educational value of television. Lastly, there is the 1963 *Festschrift* already referred to (*Zeitschrift für Kulturwissenschaft*). Adorno's *Noten zur Literatur* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1963), a 500-page volume assembling friends of the author ranging from Professor Schlegel of Jerusalem University to M. Pierre Boulez. There is hardly an

aspect of the contemporary scene in the humanities not touched upon in this distinguished collection, but then its catholicity is no greater than that of Adorno's work itself. Nor are the contributors to this volume in any way to be described as outsiders, although they include some prominent representatives of the New Left. One discerns a note of authority in their pronouncements, however critical they may be of the prevailing consensus in the Federal Republic. If this is an Opposition, it is a well-established one, unlike its precursors in Weimar days. Adorno himself is now a public figure. The Professor of Philosophy and Sociology, and Director (since Horkheimer's retirement) of the *Institut für Sozialforschung* at the Johann Wolfgang Goethe University, has become a power in the land (or at any rate in the Land Hesse) and something of an oracle whose views are sought by the newspapers on topics ranging from the reform of higher education to the merits of a Wagner festival at Bayreuth. His former pupils occupy university chairs and editorial positions. They are even beginning to form something like a school.

At this stage one is unavoidably confronted with the problem of trying to distil a coherent viewpoint from a body of work so rich and variegated, yet at the same time so heavily weighted on the side of criticism. This applies even to Adorno's special domain, that of musical composition, since here, too, he has after all made his mark as a critic rather than as a practitioner. The layman can only register the astonishing expertise reflected in writing that ranges effortlessly over the past two centuries. Here is a writer apparently as much at home with the finer shades of a Beethoven or Mahler symphony as with the intricacies of twelve-tone composition or the recent history of jazz.

A few impressions impose themselves even upon the outsider: the central position occupied in Adorno's thinking by the musical tradition of Vienna, where he received his training; his relative lack of interest in work antedating that of Beethoven; the resolute championship of Schönberg, Berg, and Webern. His own standing as a theorist (his sociological studies on the role of music in contemporary society are something else again) is evidently a function of his ability to analyse the technical problems of composition. It is this which gives to his studies of Mahler, Stravinsky, or Schönberg the solidity lacking in criticism which treats art merely as a social phenomenon. But this being said, one is left with the problem of having to account for a sensibility attuned to the stylistic peculiarities of atonal music, joined to an intellectual disposition which invariably seeks to establish the precise significance of new work in the context of musical history. This last of course has been the Hegelian contribution. What makes Adorno's work remarkable is that with him the fusion of aesthetic and historical concerns is spontaneous, unforced, and as it were organic. In other domains he has been preceded by the neo-Marxists of the 1930s, notably by Benjamin, to some degree by the early Lukács (before his adoption of the intellectual standards of Soviet populism and pseudo-realism). In relation to music he had the field to himself, and the proof that formal appreciation can be fused with sociology was his own accomplishment. So far as can be judged, the resulting doctrine has been adopted by the practitioners themselves: the real test, after all, of any theoretical construction.

When one turns to Adorno's writings on literature and philosophy, it is precisely the absence of such a criterion which makes the reviewer's task difficult. Music is commonly said to be a more subjective form of expression even than lyric poetry, yet composition after all presents technical problems which can be discussed with reference to generally accepted standards of past achievement. The case is different in literature, where the medium of communication is simply language—and everyone is supposed to be able to master its use. This of course is an illusion, on the other hand it is possible to feel that Adorno is unduly concerned with formal problems.

A reviewer of his *Noten zur Literatur* (TNS, February 16, 1962)

made the point that their author "approaches literature and even sociology... from a bias of internal structure and communicative energy whose model is, ultimately, that of music." This bias allows him to regard language as merely one of several available codes of imparted meaning. Behind this concern for the formal structure of linguistic expression there evidently lurks the notion that musical and literary composition have a common denominator in an underlying sensibility informing the distinctive style of any given period. This is the aesthetic of Proust, who in turn derived such notions from the symbolists. Adorno, like Benjamin before him, has felt the fascination of Proust's work, not least perhaps because it offered a field for interpretation drawing simultaneously upon Marxian and Freudian modes of thought. Rather more unexpectedly he has championed Valéry—*inter alia* on the grounds that his affected coldness and indifference permits a deeper insight into the alienation imposed upon men in present-day society than does the facile "engagement" of writers who delude themselves about the real nature of contemporary life. (Cf. *Noten zur Literatur* I, pp. 183-84.)

The reproach of aestheticism is indeed not one that Adorno could afford to ignore. One would imagine it to have been a sore point with him, for if anything has hampered the acceptance of his work it is the disjunction between his emphatic commitment to democracy and his inability to cast off a stylistic armour impregnable to all but an elite of readers. It is surely more than a personal quirk that so determined and clear-sighted a humanist should have chosen to express himself in a style refined and formalized to the point of complete artificiality. There appears to be some discordance between the medium and the message: the former developed in response to the aesthetics of symbolism, the latter inherited from Marx and Freud: radical thinkers brought up on the great nineteenth-century realists.

Adorno has written on Goethe and Balzac, but in a manner more appropriate to the discussion of Baudelaire or Valéry. Curiously, there is no such discordance in his finely phrased essay on Eichendorff (*Noten zur Literatur* I), where for once the critical idiosyncratic tone does not come between the subject and the reader: perhaps because Eichendorff (like Schumann, who set his lyrics to music) stirred some deeply buried yearning for natural simplicity in his learned interpreter. At his best Adorno's legendary erudition is joined to a felicity of phrasing in which the psychologist may discern an echo of untroubled days in a sunlit countryside before 1914 (obviously evoked in *Parva Aesthetica*). At his worst, e.g., in his study of Kierkegaard, the ostensible display disappears behind a wearisome trope of dialectical fireworks. The intermediate zone is represented by an epigrammatic manner plainly derived from French models: extreme condensation allied to a relentless search for the *mot juste*. It is the reverse of a popular style—but then the business of criticism has never, in Germany, been a popular affair.

A modernist then—but also a Hegelian for whom the tradition of classical German philosophy issues and culminates in Marx. Before hastening to describe this as a conventional left-wing position, one had better face the awkwardness inherent in Adorno's understanding of this particular heritage. He might, after all, have adopted Marx without committing himself to Hegel (which was more or less what Benjamin had done). Alternatively he could have championed the Hegel of the *Phenomenology* and the *Aesthetics* without troubling about Marx. It is a tribute to his integrity that he resisted these easy solutions, just as it is a mark of his fundamental seriousness that, having opted for Hegel's solution of the Kantian problem, he applied his dialectical method to the critique of Hegel (proof of which may be found in *Zur Metakritik der Hegelschen Philosophie*, published in 1956-57). He worked from an earlier draft, 1934-37, when the emigrant in Oxford had leisure to reflect upon the topicality of Hegelian theorizing. Beyond these technical details a wider issue, the 1930s, were a test for rationalists, rapidly converted to a view of history as a self-activating

totality whose mechanism could be discovered by the exercise of reason. They were doubly a test for Central European intellectuals exposed to the torrent of unreason let loose by the Third Reich. The catastrophe suffered by the entire German Left, communist and non-communist alike, extended from their lives to their beliefs, for in addition to having their careers shattered, men of Adorno's generation experienced the collapse of the confident humanism that had sustained them in earlier days. In these circumstances the defence of the rationalist position at its most uncompromising—in the line leading from Kant via Hegel to Marx—had the significance of a moral as well as an intellectual affirmation. Face to face with the *Wahlgewinn* in Germany—a gathering of demonic spirits from which irrationalists like Heidegger sought to extract what they could for the promotion of their own private contribution to the general madness—these opponents had to stand fast and Adorno at any rate did.

It is less easy to pinpoint the precise connexion between the defence of rationalism and the commitment to a Hegelianized form of Marxism. There was after all an alternative: the radical empiricism of the Vienna Circle, most of whose surviving members in those years likewise had to seek refuge abroad when the German cloaca spilled over into Hitler's native Austria. One could even (those were the years before Professor Popper's conversion to liberalism) be an empiricist in philosophy and a socialist in politics. To those familiar with the sociology of Karl Mannheim this was a possible option. It was, however, an option precluded by the basic orientation of the Frankfurt group whose understanding of Marxism, while significantly different from the Soviet variety, retained the traditional link with Hegel. During the early 1930s the *Zeitschrift für Sozialforschung* carried so many critical notices of empiricism and positivist literature as to give the impression that its editors saw themselves conducting a war on two fronts: against the prevailing irrationalism of the Third Reich, and against the empiricism traditionally dominant in the Anglo-American world. With the decision to move to the United States, this orientation underwent a change, possibly because closer acquaintance with the America of Roosevelt and Dewey suggested a different view of the situation. Yet the theoretical position staked out in Adorno's critique of Husserl in the mid-1930s was reaffirmed when twenty years later he finally published *Zur Metakritik* and (a year later) his *Aspekte der Hegelschen Philosophie*. The dialectician has to combat on two fronts: against the traditional ontology whose revival had finally issued in Heidegger's irrationalism, and against the empiricist narrowness which confuses philosophy with scientism, thereby renouncing the critical function of the intellect.

Speculative metaphysics conceals its emptiness behind pompous tautologies (Being = Nothing), while empiricism contents itself with the registration of surface phenomena which it mistakes for the whole of reality. Dialectics does neither. It employs the Hegelian method beyond and against Hegel's own system, thus laying bare the contradiction inherent in the attempt to inflate an individual consciousness (that of the philosopher) to the dimensions of the universe. But it does not for this reason renounce the task of understanding the world. There is a logic which pervades reality, and a method proper to its portrayal. The subject-matter of this analysis is not a substance underlying its own appearances, but the concrete totality known as history.

The exposition of this theme takes up the bulk of Adorno's latest and most ambitious work, the 400-page tract bearing the title *Negative Dialectik*. Here the programmatic aim of the earlier writings has come to fruition: classical German philosophy is subjected to a critique which turns the concepts of idealist logic against the various systematizations undertaken by German thinkers since Kant. What remains when this process of auto-destruction has been completed is the dialectical method itself. This is shown to have survived Hegel's grandiose but utopian attempt to encompass the material world within

the logical straitjacket of his own system: an aberration ultimately traceable to the deeply rooted habit of allotting the primacy within the subject-object relation to the thinking subject. In contrast to this idealist perversion, Adorno opts for the "materialist" dialectic of Marx: a view of spirit over matter nor a logical primacy of the reflecting individual mind. This last consideration also serves to "place" the existentialist heresy. At the same time Adorno will have nothing to do with dialectical materialism in the conventional meaning of the term. What Communist doctrine describes as the union of theory and practice has, in his view become a particular kind of practice to which theory is subordinated. This practice perpetuates a repressive social order. "Philosophy, which at one time appeared outdated, survives because the proper moment for its realization has been missed." Radical criticism accordingly sets itself the task of freeing philosophy from the straitjacket imposed upon it by all the orthodoxies of our age, and of past ages too.

Already with Plato the dialectic is intended as a means of yielding some positive by way of negative thinking: later this was frequently described as the Negation of the Negation. This book intends to free the dialectic from such affirmative purpose, without jettisoning anything in the realm of concreteness. The development of its paradoxical title is among its aims.

The argument that this revival of a purely theoretical mode of thought represents a retreat from Marx to the pre-Marxists is rebutted (page 149) on the grounds that it is not the critic's fault if theory and practice have fallen apart. The community enterprise having terminated in the effective subordination of critical thinking to a despotic authority, philosophy is obliged to recover the autonomy it had momentarily sacrificed to the "union of theory and practice". There can indeed be no return to metaphysics, but the critique of reality must nonetheless appeal to metaphysical standards of judgment. Its ultimate criterion is not kind itself—the life of reason and the immortality of a society which denies them the elementary rights and freedoms they need.

Whatever may be thought of the solution, the boldness of the enterprise commands respect. Canonic must be added, compels the observation that even in this, his opus magnum, Adorno does not present a systematic exposition of his thought, but something less formal: a lengthy and brilliant polemical tract which also a *profession de foi*. The argument does not, properly speaking, unfold. It is hurled at the reader in an unbroken sequence of precise affirmations whose precise and unlooked-for make up for the absence of a discernible logical skeleton. In short, what we have here is an essay, not a treatise. It is, moreover, couched in the author's highly personal idiom—its pseudo-popularity guaranteeing against pseudo-effectiveness. But then we have it: Adorno's authority that the time for such considerations is past. The revolution has not really changed the world. The task once more is to understand it.

If this is Adorno's final judgment on the contemporary situation in Europe (and he is not, as a theorist concerned with other regions of the world), the conclusion imposes itself that he has indeed reverted to something like the "critical critique" of the Young Hegelians. Doubtless he would reply that no other position today compatible with intellectual integrity, as may be seen from the parallel development of a form of neo-Marxist revisionism in Eastern Europe. In the end one is left with the impression that Lukács and Adorno have opted for contrasting and complementary solutions of the same problem, the *sacrificia* and *intellectus* of the one corresponding to the willful obscurity and disavowal of the other. Survivors of an age when for a brief moment the seemed possible, these writers in different ways seem to furnish answers that the critical spirit is once more reduced to the familiar role of contemplation.

# POEMS by Günter Grass

## New Mysticism

or: A little survey of the utopian conditions after the temporarily ultimate cultural revolution

When our questionnaires tended to show gaps and the established powers, puzzled, sensed a rapprochement, all the systems began to be merged with telepathy.

While ecstasies still stood aloof, national tables were shifted and laid, spirits invoked, then fed on Hegel and other mystics, until there were knocks and legible answers.

At that assembly of spiritualist Leninists at Lourdes whose working parties dealt with progressive Tibet and the achievements of Toren of Komororouth with the aid of the Schrenk-Notizing method, the spokesmen for enlightened decadence were called to order: Henceforth Whitman always fall on the first of May.

In the following year, during the telepathic Passion Week, Zen pioneers, guided by the four-dimensional Socialist Jesuits and followed by Indian cows as well as the great sensitives of astral Hindu Corporations transported Lenin's wax corpse by stages to Rome. When, in accordance with paladinal instructions (Eusapia Paladino, born 1854 in Naples, medium and fore-runner of the New Mysticism), on the windy Isle of Jutland a yellow-haired medium had been found who was proclaimed heroine of socialist mysticism and shortly after that tragic motor accident, scattered social democrats and marxist revisionists later confessed to the coup,—she was canonized. The counter-revolutionaries concentrated in Texas and Outer Mongolia for the purpose of re-education at the desks of protective camps now diminished from session to session.

Our plenary circle of dialectical psychokinesis meets constantly. For still the saint answers questions. Around one table the world sits and takes her advice. She, the irrational, disarms us, she, the telekinetic, helps us to fulfil the norm, she, the occult, feeds and administers us, only she, the partisan and inflexible, she, the blessed and sorrowful, she, the charmingly sensitive, fills in our questionnaires, gives names to our streets, cleanses us thoroughly, delivers us from doubts, takes away our headache.

From now on we need no longer think, only obey and decode her knocking signals.

## Don't Turn Round

Don't go into the wood,  
In the wood is the wood.  
Whoever walks in the wood,  
looks for trees,  
will not be looked for later in the wood.

Have no fear,  
fear smells of fear.  
Whoever smells of fear  
will be smelled out  
by heroes who smell like heroes.

Don't drink from the sea,  
the sea tastes of more sea.  
Whoever drinks from the sea  
henceforth feels  
a thirst only for oceans.

Don't build a home,  
or you'll be at home.  
Whoever is at home  
waits for  
late callers and opens the door.

Don't write a letter,  
letters that vex me end up in Texas.  
Whoever writes the letter  
lends his name  
to the posthumous paper gains.

## Wrong Beauty

This quiet,  
that is, the traffic some way off, its teeth stuck into itself,  
pleases me,  
and this lamb cutlet,  
though cold by now and greasy,  
tastes good,  
life.

I mean the period from yesterday to Monday morning, is fun again:  
I laugh at the dish of parsnips,  
our gummy-pip pinkly reminds me,  
cheerfulness threatens to flood my table,  
and an idea,  
an idea of sorts,  
rises without yeast;  
and I'm happy  
because it is wrong and beautiful.

## Taking Breath

Buy soap and apples.  
Seagulls—I've described them before.  
These are smaller.

Ice scum on the canals curls up.  
Who chuckled sleet  
at the girls: too greasy food?

They say that the queen  
subsidizes bicycles.  
And one of the tulips is called Merry Willow.

It's come to this,  
That when you stroke it the bulb  
Says yes in the end.

All day long I laugh to myself.  
That's allowed here:  
laughing to oneself and taking breath.

## March

Again they're mixing concrete now.  
From rusty armatures the last  
small inhibition thaws, spurs parts  
stand at attention, fit for use:  
Come on. Adapt. Come on. Adapt.

When my great fury twisted the horizon,  
when I refused to swallow garbage,  
when with my little pointed verbs  
I slit the tyres,—why are you parking here?—  
when through a hair sieve I made the pudding squelch  
and gave it proof of its pink opposite,  
when I caught shadows and, remunerated,  
was taxed for it, profession: shadow-catcher,  
when heavenward I drove my nails  
through newly painted garden seats,  
when I took paper scribbled full of hate,  
folded it into boats and launched them,  
when love chucked me a bone, and then  
my tongue devised a relief for its taste,  
when I decided to cure shingles with a spell  
since even detumescence gives three grammes of pleasure,  
when—on a dizzy day—I lugged the bronze  
and, shy of thresholds, glaucosed St. Fanny's Day,  
when my ten fingers suddenly were in rut  
and served each knot-hole in that row of shacks,  
when, till game over, with little tins and pushes  
I turned the slot machines to ring,  
when every bill beneath the line  
came out as minus nine pounds ten,  
when with the doves I lay and had to vow:  
never again I'll do it with the seagulls—  
mounted an ear and begged for mercy, wheedling:  
Too dry, the angels pro, too tight!  
when only handstands yielded phrases still:  
I love you, dear, I love you, dear.—  
When winter things were unbolted  
from byres and, moth-proofed, put away,  
when garishly the greenhouse puked,  
loudspeaker blaring into March,—  
when a tickle scratches fish and look  
about to quarrel, spring broke out:  
Come on now. Get undressed, girl. Quick.

Translated by  
Michael Hamburger



# LEARNING AND TEACHING TO TEACH AND LEARN

W. F. CONNELL, R. L. DEBUS, and W. R. NOBLETT (editors): *Readings in the Foundations of Education*. 398pp. Routledge and Kegan Paul. £2 2s.

*The Graduate Study of Education*. Report of the Harvard Committee. Foreword by Theodore R.Sizer. 125pp. Harvard University Press. London: Oxford University Press. 7s.

The study of education in England and America is often at or near the bottom of the academic pecking order. *Readings in the Foundations of Education* is a collection of essays, sometimes in translation and generally extracted from longer works, brought together in order to introduce intending teachers and other students of education to the study of education. It begins inevitably with Plato and Robert M. Hutchins on education as the cultivation of the intellect; it continues inevitably with short excerpts from Rousseau, John Dewey, and other miscellaneous educationists. Any notion that there is a collection of serious, intellectual disciplines—sociology, psychology, history, economics, politics—which can be brought to bear upon the range of complex problems which arise in education, is hidden from the reader. Indeed, the nature of the excerpts suggests that the reader envisaged is a semi-literate girl, picking her way with the aid of an elementary dictionary through these pre-processed introductions to the nature of intelligent thought. Have Professor Connell and his colleagues any idea what an intending teacher should know, other than what has, over the last forty or fifty years, formed the background of teacher training courses? In other words, this book represents the quiescence of educational courses as they have been known in the Western World, and particularly in England and the United States, over the past few decades.

These problems are fully faced in the Report of the Harvard Committee on the Graduate Study of Education.

Broadly, their approach is this: the graduate study of education in the United States, and to a lesser extent, in the United Kingdom, is trying to do three things. First to conduct what might be called "pure research" into the disciplines that underlie education and the problems that present themselves to those disciplines. Thus, for example, the way in which children learn or the way in which children perceive the world, are problems for psychologists of various kinds. The relationship between educational attainment and social class is a problem for sociologists. The development of the educational system and the influences which have been brought to bear on it and the influences which it in turn has brought to bear on society are problems for historians. Secondly, there is "applied research", which is the use of the resources of universities to develop educational technology, such as television, new methods of teaching, new forms of books and new community programmes in education. Thirdly, there is the traditional role (which incidentally provides the greater part of the finance): the training of intending teachers to work in the schools.

One immediate idea which the Report considers is that since education is an area of study, and not a discipline, the best course of action might well be to break it up into its various scholarly and research disciplines. These could then be returned to the arts and sciences departments with which they are naturally affiliated.

According to the Report the advantage of this policy would be mainly administrative, in that it would save academic overheads; but surely the overwhelming advantage would be that the study of educational questions would no longer be left to a

second rank academic group, who are perceived by their colleagues in other departments to be of a lower order of ability—whether or not that ability actually is of a lower order. The argument against this (declared in the Report) is that it would make less possible the meaningful confrontation between people in different academic specialties and the teacher trainers, and also that it would remove from the university the responsibility for teacher training, since... "to abolish the school would effectively remove the University from engagement with the profession as well as from any serious enterprise of professional training." Surely, what the Report is saying in carefully guarded words is that other departments would not like to take on the job of studying education: "It is, in our opinion, fantastic to imagine that abolition of the school would diffuse educational interest throughout the University." Since it has not been tried, it is very difficult to accept this statement.

A second possibility would be to set up a high-level research institute devoted to the study of education, leaving the tasks of professional training to other people, possibly the schools themselves. The Committee half accepts this case, but they strongly urge that the concern of the school of education for the professional training of teachers is at the heart of its existence. Here again, it is doubtful whether or not they are rationalizing an existing practice rather than providing cogent arguments for its continuation. "The University's research capability is thus, in our view, not dissipated, but strengthened, by its intimate connection with teaching." This quotation may very well be answered by asking a further question: Where

is the evidence of the university's research capability being used in education? Surely, there is hardly any evidence at all. In Britain, most of the pathfinding research, for example in the sociology of education, has been conducted by scholars who are now outside departments of education.

There is, perhaps, a more cogent argument advanced in the report: that the research would become unduly academic and less and less concerned with what goes on in the schools. To an extent this is beside the point, since a great deal of the research is necessarily academic, yet there is some validity in the argument. One recurring problem of modern society is that knowledge is perpetually academicized and made remote from the thing that it purports to study. Yet any balanced examination of what goes on in schools of education must surely find that this kind of academicizing occurs at present and may well be preferable to its alternative—a vulgar kind of Philistinism. Surely one of the major facts about contemporary institutions for training teachers is that they have succeeded in changing the atmosphere of the primary schools, but that despite this important achievement their standing, both in relation to other university departments and to sixth form teachers, is relatively low, for the good reason that their intellectual work is not adequate and that it is "academic" in the pejorative sense.

The plan of an Education School, or department, at Harvard is in some degree a logical development for the place of such a department in England: Harvard is twenty years on, so to speak. It does not train many teachers for elementary schools; it concentrates on the masters and doctorates that lead to administrative positions in education, and to teaching and research jobs for professional "educators"—that is, those people who are employed to teach "education" as a subject. Increasingly, too, research of various types has come to be associated with the School. Underlying all this is a series of programmes for training graduate teachers, and refresher courses for teachers already at work. "Underlying" is a word chosen with care, since it is a major source of finance for the department, as well as the historical reason for its existence. The origin of the Harvard School lay in a desire of President Eliot to raise the standards of the high schools that sent pupils to Harvard; he sought to avoid "normal-school pedagogy" (or in England the training college approach), by appointing a Professor of Education, Paul Huns, whose concerns were with what would be called in this country the grammar school curriculum, and the rest of the School developed from this origin. Its interest in the elementary and high schools now includes extensive community programmes, resembling in some respects those alluded to in the Plowden Report. This interest springs essentially from Paul Huns' growing preoccupation with "the large number of city children who stayed in school even though they were not planning to attend college". The concern of the School with the problems of urban America took it away from the more acceptable parts of Harvard. President Lowell, in an attempt to put it in a more usual Harvard context, transferred its field to a Graduate School, and sought to raise its scholarly tone. The fight between academic standing and the need to train teachers came into the open. It was resolved, by a mish-mash: "education" was invented as a discipline, and its academic status immediately sank very low. Henry Holmes, a disciple of Froebel, created a new "professional" School, which was to be like the Law School, but found himself the victim of conflicting pressures, having to defend both the curriculum and the student body.

The elevation of "vocationalism" to the level of a cult emphasized not good creative teaching but a body of pseudo-scientific dogma about "education". This was the body of general principles that were supposed

to elevate mere vocationalism to a different order. The argument is driven back to the question: is education such a thing as a science of education? Is there such a thing as an "educator"—as distinct from a teacher, a psychologist, an economist, a sociologist, or a victimologist. What is the institution which directly shapes the nature of human knowledge, by imposing its own modes of division and classification on it, in exactly the same way as a language, with its "compulsory meanings" (and not only its exclusions, but also its inclusions, as it were), obliges us to think in a certain way. In other words, science education will henceforth be taken here to mean the social and human sciences as a whole) is defined not by its content (often ill-determined and labile), nor by its method (this varies from science to science: what do historical science and experimental psychology have in common?), nor by its ethic (science is not alone in being serious-minded and rigorous), nor by its mode of communication (science is printed in books, like everything else), but simply by its status, that is its determination by society: the subject-matter of science is everything that society deems worthy of being studied. In short, science is what it is.

Literature has all the secondary characteristics of science, that is all the attributes which do not define it. Its contents are exactly the same as those of science: there is certainly a single scientific topic that has not been dealt with at some point in the history of literature. The world of the literary work is a total one, in which all knowledge, social, psychological or historical has a place, with the result that for us literature has that great cosmogonic unity which the ancient Greeks enjoyed but

which we are denied today by the fragmented state of our sciences. Moreover, like science, literature has its methods: it has its programmes of research, which vary from school to school and age to age (again like those of science), its rules of investigation and sometimes even pretensions to experiment. Like science, literature also has its ethic, a certain way of extracting the rules governing its practice from the view it takes of its own nature and, consequently, of submitting its projects to a certain sense of the absolute.

There is one last feature which not only unites science and literature but also divides them more surely than any other of their differences: they are both discursive (the ancient idea of the *logos* expressed this very well). But science and literature do not assume or, if one prefers, profess the language which constitutes both of them in the same way. As far as science is concerned language is simply an instrument, which it profits it to make as transparent and neutral as possible; it is subordinate to the matter of science (workings, hypotheses, results) which, so it is said, exists outside language and precedes it. On the one hand and first there is the content of the scientific message, which is everything, on the other hand and next, the verbal form responsible for expressing that content, which is nothing. It is no coincidence that, from the sixteenth century onwards, the corporate blossoming of empiricism, rationalism and an evidential religion (with the Reformation), that is of the scientific spirit in the widest sense of the term, should have been accompanied by a regression in the autonomy of language, henceforth relegated to the rank of instrument or "fine style", whereas in the Middle

Above all, the committee sees its work to be concerned with long-term, with the need to influence society and with scholarship. In practice this means a concentration on doctorates, and on the preparation of outstanding professional teachers and other professionals allied to education. The school itself, they hold, should be organized in "areas", which they envisage as six in number, through them "disciplinary" in character, three applied or "clinical".

When these "areas" are examined carefully, however, it is possible to see them as a mere reorganization of the existing staff. They will have a "philosophical studies of the humanities area"—the very name tells its own tale—and psychology and teacher training, which will (presumably) still be the usual matter of heated debate. This may be an unduly harsh judgment. The Master's course (corresponding to our Dip. Ed. courses for graduates) will consist of a summer's internship in a school followed by a new course called Introduction to Education which

should incorporate field experience in schools, clinics, and educationally related facilities at various times, and provide contact with processes of teaching, counselling, administration, and policy-making at such facilities. It should provide a stimulus to critical discussion and evaluation of educational processes and significant opportunity for critical discussion, reading, and (most important) the writing of autonomous critical "briefs" and "opinion papers".

This will be backed up by courses in "educational" psychology, sociology, philosophy and history. If the past is any guide, these courses will be of doubtful value. The second year of the programme is to be as a "supervised clinical internship" partly under the supervision of the School of Education, and partly under schoolteachers specially chosen for the job. Dean Sizer, then, has not resolved the problem, but he has not resolved it. Scholars continue to argue topics in education while they talk the domain of "education", and nobody really knows how teachers should be trained, except by trial and error, example and pragmatism. The erection of a discipline of "education" has set both research and training irretrievably

Crosscurrents—VII

# SCIENCE VERSUS LITERATURE

By Roland Barthes

FRENCH UNIVERSITY departments keep an official list of the social and human sciences as being taught, and are restricted to awarding degrees in specific subjects: it is possible to become a doctor of aesthetics, psychology or sociology, but not of history, semantics or victimology. What is the institution which directly shapes the nature of human knowledge, by imposing its own modes of division and classification on it, in exactly the same way as a language, with its "compulsory meanings" (and not only its exclusions, but also its inclusions, as it were), obliges us to think in a certain way. In other words, science education will henceforth be taken here to mean the social and human sciences as a whole) is defined not by its content (often ill-determined and labile), nor by its method (this varies from science to science: what do historical science and experimental psychology have in common?), nor by its ethic (science is not alone in being serious-minded and rigorous), nor by its mode of communication (science is printed in books, like everything else), but simply by its status, that is its determination by society: the subject-matter of science is everything that society deems worthy of being studied. In short, science is what it is.

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Agnes human culture had shared out the secrets of speech and nature almost equally, under the headings of the Seven Liberal Arts.

For literature on the other hand, or at any rate that literature which has freed itself from classicism and humanism, language can no longer be the convenient instrument or the superfluous backcloth of a social, emotional or poetic "reality" which pre-exists it, and which it is language's subsidiary responsibility to express, by means of submitting itself to a number of stylistic rules. Language is literature's Being, its very world; the whole of literature is contained in the act of writing, and no longer in those of "thinking", "portraying", "telling" or "feeling". Technically, as Roman Jakobson has defined it, the "poetic" (i.e. the literary) refers to that type of message which takes as its object not its content but its own form. Ethically, it is only by its passage through language that literature can continue to shake loose the essential concepts of our culture, one of the chief among which is the "real". Politically, it is by professing and illustrating that no language is innocent, by practising what might be called "integral language", that literature is revolutionary. Thus to literature finds itself bearing unaided the entire responsibility for language, for although science has a certain need of language it is not, like literature, in language. The one is taught, that is expressed and exhibited, the other is fulfilled rather than transmitted (only its history being taught). Science is spoken, literature written, the one is led by the voice, the other follows the hand; they do not both have the same physical body and hence the same desire behind them.

Since it turns essentially on a certain way of taking language, conjured away into thin air in one case and assumed in the other, the opposition between science and literature is of particular importance for structuralism. Agreed that this word, most often imposed from outside, is today applied to projects that are very diverse, sometimes divergent and sometimes even antagonistic, and no one can arrogate the right to speak in its name. The present writer does not claim to be doing so, but retains contemporary "structuralism" only in its most specialized and consequently most relevant version, using it to mean a certain mode of analysis of cultural artefacts, insofar as this mode originates in the methods of contemporary linguistics. This is to say that structuralism, itself developed from a linguistic model, finds in literature, which is the work of language, an object that has much more than an affinity with it; the two are homogeneous. Their coincidence does not exclude a certain confusion or even cleavage, according to whether structuralism sets out to maintain a scientific distance between itself and its object or whether, on the other hand, it agrees to compromise and abandon the analysis of which it is the bearer in that infinitude of language that today passes through literature; in short, whether it elects to be science or writing.

As a science, structuralism can be said to "find itself" at each level of the literary work. First, at the level of the content or, to be more exact, of the form of the content, since it seeks to establish the "language" of the stories that are told, their articulation, their units and the logic which links these together; in short, the general mythology in which each literary work shares. Secondly, at the level of the forms of discourse.

By virtue of its method structuralism gives special attention to classification, hierarchies and arrangements: its essential object is the taxonomy or distributive model which every human creation, be it institution or book, inevitably establishes, since there can be no culture without classification. Now the discourse, or the complex of words superior to the phrase, has its own forms of organization; it too is a classification and a classification which signifies. In this respect structuralism has an august forbear whose historical role has generally been underestimated or discredited for ideological reasons—Rhetoric, that impressive attempt by a whole culture to analyse and classify the forms of speech, and to make the world of language intelligible. And, finally, at the level of the words. The phrase does not only have a literal or indicative sense, it is crammed with additional meanings. The literary word is at once a cultural reference, a rhetorical model, a deliberately ambiguous utterance and a simple indicative unit; it has three dimensions, within which lies the field of structural analysis, whose aims are much wider than those of the old stylistics, based as they were on an erroneous idea of "expressivity". At every level, therefore, be it that of the argument, the discourse or the words, the literary work offers structuralism the picture of a structure perfectly homologous (present-day research is tending to prove this) with that of language itself. Structuralism has emerged from linguistics and in literature it finds an object which has itself emerged from language. We can understand then why structuralism should want to found a science of literature or, to be more exact, a linguistics of discourse, whose object is the "language" of literary forms.

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grasped on many levels. This aim is a comparatively new one, since up until now literature has only been approached "scientifically" in a very marginal way, through the history of literary works, their authors, the schools they belong to, or the texts themselves (philology). But although it may be a new aim it is not a satisfactory, or at least not a sufficient one. It does nothing to solve the dilemma we spoke of at the beginning and which is suggested allegorically by the opposition between science and literature, insofar as the latter assumes its language under the name of writing, whereas the former evades it, by pretending to believe that this language is merely instrumental. In short, structuralism will be just one more "science" (several are born each century, some of them only ephemeral) if it does not manage to place the actual subversion of scientific language at the centre of its programme, that is to "write itself". How could it fail to question the very language it uses in order to know language? The logical continuation of structuralism can only be to rejoin literature, no longer as an "object" of analysis but as the activity of writing, to do away with the distinction derived from logic which turns the work itself into a language-object and science into a meta-language, and thus to forgo that illusory privilege which science attaches to the possession of a captive language.

It remains therefore for the structuralist to turn himself into a "writer", certainly not in order to profess or practise "fine style", but in order to rediscover the crucial problems involved in every utterance, once it is no longer wrapped in the beneficial cloud of strictly realist illusions, which see language simply as the medium of thought. This transformation, still pretty theoretical it must be admitted, requires that certain things should be made clear or recognized. In the first place, the relationship between subjectivity and objectivity or, if one prefers, the place of the subject in his own work, can no longer be thought of as in the halcyon days of positivist science. Objectivity and rigour, those attributes of the scientist which are still used as a stick to beat us with, are essentially preparatory qualities, necessary at the time of starting out on the work, and as such there is no cause to suspect or abandon them. But they are not qualities that can be transferred to the discourse itself, except by a sort of sleight-of-hand, a purely metonymical procedure which confuses precaution with its end-product in discourse. Every utterance implies its own subject, whether this subject be expressed in an apparently direct fashion, by the use of "I", or indirectly, by being referred to as "he", or avoided altogether by means of impersonal constructions. These are purely grammatical decoys, which do no more than vary the way in which the subject is constituted within the discourse, that is the way he gives himself to others, theatrically or as a phantasm; they all refer therefore to forms of the imaginary. The most specious of these forms is the privative, the very one normally practised in scientific discourse, from which the scientist

French Literature

**IMAGE OF LOVE**  
Joh. Bousquet : *Lettres à Polsoin d'Or*. Preface by Jean Paulhan. 234pp. 15fr. May 1912, a German bullet hit Joh. Bousquet in the shoulder, passed through both lungs and broke his spine. Twenty-five different doctors said that he would either die or be completely cured, but they were wrong: his illness survived for another thirty-two years in a body which was barely capable of moving. His terrible wound gave Bousquet the conviction that he had been "privileged" to love itself. The love which Bousquet loved to write was thought instead of lived. By coming to will his own affliction he could make use of it, and he wrote quite consciously, not for his own time or for the world at large but for a posterity of other writers who would be able, after he had died a second time, to grasp how he had

excludes himself because of his concern for objectivity. What is excluded, however, is always only the "person", psychological, emotional, or biographical, certainly not the subject. It could be said moreover that this subject is heavy with the spectacular exclusion it has imposed on its person, so that, on the discursive level—one, be it remembered, which cannot be avoided—objectivity is as imaginary as anything else. In point of fact, only an integral formalization of scientific discourse (that of the human sciences, of course, since this has largely been achieved in the others) can preserve science from the risks of the imaginary, unless, naturally, it agrees to practise that imaginary in the full awareness of what it is doing, a knowledge that can only be attained by writing: only writing has a hope of removing the bad faith attaching to any language which is ignorant of itself.

Only writing, again, and this is a first step towards defining it, can practise language in its totality. To resort to scientific discourse as if to an instrument of thought is to postulate that there exists a neutral state of language, from which a certain number of specialized languages, the literary or poetic languages for example, have derived, as so many deviants or embellishments. It is held that this neutral state would be the referential code for all the "ex-centric" languages, which themselves would be merely its sub-codes. By identifying itself with this referential code, as the basis of all normality, scientific discourse is arrogating to itself a right which it is writing's duty precisely to contest. The notion of "writing" implies indeed that language is a vast system, none of whose codes is privileged or, if one prefers, central, and whose various departments are related in a "fluctuating hierarchy". Scientific discourse believes itself to be a superior code; writing aims at being a total code, including its own forces of destruction. It follows that writing alone can smash the theological idol set up by a paternalistic science, refuse to be terror-stricken by what is wrongly thought of as the "truth" of the content and of reasoning, and open up all three dimensions of language to research, with its subversions of logic, its mixing of codes, its shifts of meaning, dialogues and parodies. Only writing can oppose the self-assurance of the scientist, insofar as he "expresses" his science, with what Lautréamont called the "modesty" of the writer. There is, finally, between science and literature, a third margin which science must reconquer, that of pleasure. In a civilization entirely brought up by monotheism to the idea of sin, where every value is attained through suffering, the word "pleasure" has an unfortunate ring; there is something frivolous, trivial and incomplete about it. Coleridge said: "A poem is that species of composition which is opposed to works of science by purposing for its immediate object, pleasure, not truth"; an ambiguous statement, for although it assumes the nature of the poem (or of literature) to be in some degree erotic, our civilization continues to assign it to a special reserve where it can keep an eye on it so to speak, distinct from the more important territory of truth. "Yet pleasure", as we are reader

Paris: Gallimard, 15fr. As the years go by, his letters do in fact get a little less mystical, and he talks more about his writing and his intolerance of the real world, which was not able very often to get past the defences of his bedroom door. The poems which he admires most are like and Eluard, which is an indication of just how rare and compressed is much of what he himself writes. Yet it is clear that without his patient idealized love affair he would never have seen so deeply into his own intimate needs as a poet. For Bousquet love is poetry, because it is what turns appearance into reality. In these remarkable letters, it is best to read him as a gentle surrealist, who sees literature not as a banal attempt to help people endure their lives but as a means of reconciling the heart and the mind in the creation of an innocent dream.



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THE EMANCIPATION OF THEOLOGY?

How CATHOLIC is "Catholic"? In the American context the usual answer until lately would have been "very little". Harold Jack writing in 1948, remarked that the Roman Catholic Church in the United States "shows less direct interest in the problems of the time, save as they touch the economy, and especially the economic aspects, of the Church than any religious organization of comparable importance". It is the sort of generalization which English visitors to America—from Mrs. Frances Holgate to Evelyn Waugh—have been prone to make, and it needs to be qualified. It by-passes the complex history of an immigrant population—poor and without roots in a predominantly Protestant society—whose struggles were for long concentrated on securing their rights in an alien world. Their religion was indeed domestic, the badge of their social identity as well as of their faith.

It was not only a specifically American sectarianism that limited intellectual curiosity and wider vision of American Catholics, though the absorption of the Irish into the life of their ghettos with building their churches and schools, and as well with fighting for a place in the economic opportunities, partly excluded larger horizons. The general intellectual climate of the American Catholic Church in the early twentieth century and in the first half of the twentieth could hardly be described as benign. The exception was those who saw the implications of their faith in a setting other than that of defending the Church against the attacks of its adversaries—Lauderdale, Mohler, Ketteler, Rosenthal, Newman, Acton—remained exceptional. The *Syllabus of Errors*, the reasons dictated by factors as political as intellectual in their force, is characteristic of the age. In 1878 *Rerum Novarum* came only fifty years after the publication of *The Communist Manifesto*.

The new encyclopedia, like the old, is published under the aegis of the Catholic University of Washington, and, in view of the recent troubled history of that institution in the matter of academic freedom, there might be some doubt about how unfettered the response would be. The *New Catholic Encyclopedia* was entrusted in its later and decisive stages to a team of professional staff editors, drawn from a wide range of academic disciplines, who manifestly enjoyed complete freedom in their selection and treatment of subjects and choice of contributors. Perhaps the strictly theological articles are the least adventurous. But that is no disadvantage. What is expected in an encyclopedia is not a digest of recent theological speculation but rather a statement of the classical teaching, fairly presented and providing a reasonable basis for its development.

The treatment of such major theological subjects as Christology, the Church, Faith, the Sacraments, is traditional, which is to say that an ordered account of the theological argument is given, relying on the substantial teaching of such preferred authorities as Aquinas. What is new is the importance given to biblical and patristic evidence, which in the older *Encyclopaedia* found indeed in the usual teaching of Catholic colleges and seminaries was regarded as ancillary—secondary sources used to support a conclusion derived from an *a priori* argument. The biblical entries throughout are of uniform excellence.

But the greatest change lies in the dimension created by a concern for the ecumenical values of any living theology. It is not merely a matter of preferring the civilities of dialogue to the knockabout tactics of diatribe. Thus Reformation history and theology are treated with scholarly accuracy, helped indeed by recent research and a critical examination of the relevant texts, but even more by the testimony of those who are their inheritors.

The article on Lutheranism in North America is by a professor of church history at a Lutheran seminary and has an authority and warmth that no secondhand report could have. Professor Kenneth Lalouette writes on Protestant Missions and Dr. Visser 't Hooft on the World Council of Churches; Professor C. W. Dugmore writes on Thomas Cranmer and Professor Norman Marling of the Philadelphia Baptist Seminary on the Baptists. These are not merely names but rather a sensible recognition that the epithet "Catholic" should be the guarantee of care for objective truth.

The same sensitive concern for the facts of the case governs the generous treatment of the non-Christian religions. Rarely can any encyclopedia have dealt with Judaism at such length or with such accuracy. Here—as in the entries on Islam, Buddhism and Hinduism—the emphasis

of the Vatican Council's Declaration on the Church and non-Christian Religions is faithfully reflected. Dom Bede Griffiths can say—at the end of a twenty-four column article—that "to a Christian, Hinduism presents on the whole the most profound *pragmatic Evangelica* the world has seen". And articles such as those on the Koran and on Sikhism, the Torah and Hasidism are not just accurate sources of information; they contribute to the positive approach that throughout marks the encyclopedia's consideration of traditions other than the one that its title proclaims.

It is probably to the articles on current moral and social issues that the reader will first turn to discover how serious is the encyclopedia's claim to present the Church's teaching in a contemporary setting. Professor John Noonan, whose recent book on the history of contraception as treated by Catholic theologians has been universally regarded as one of the decisive books of our time, one which may yet affect the Church's formulation of its teaching on birth control, is entrusted with the article on contraception. It is a model of analysis both of the moral issue and of its historical evolution. On such subjects as war and peace, racial discrimination, church and state, freedom of conscience and education the treatment is consistently positive.

The purely historical articles are of exceptional authority, and rely heavily on English authors. The names of Professor David Knowles (the medieval history of the Church) and of Professor Joan Hussey (Byzantine civilization) are a sufficient guarantee of excellence. For the first time in any such work Latin America has been given adequate attention. Mgr. John Tracy Ellis, the distinguished American church historian, whose own career has exemplified the great advances of Ameri-

can Catholic scholarship, has written the principal article on the United States. His authoritative forty-five columns could be described as one of the principal foundations of the whole enterprise. The casual reader will probably be impressed most by the wealth and originality of the illustrations. Never before has one seen such lavishment and intelligence applied to what too often seem only incidental features in a work of reference. There are ninety-one illustrations to a series of twelve articles on church architecture and the 170 columns of text are illuminated by brilliantly executed plans and photographs. Even more remarkable is the treatment of such a subject as the iconography of Jesus Christ: scores of illustrations, from a catacomb Good Shepherd to a Derrain painting, provide a perfect supplement to the biblical and theological articles. The openness of the *New Catholic Encyclopedia* is nowhere more apparent than in its consideration of literature and the arts. This must be the first time that James Joyce and Jean Genet, Catholic though their roots may be, have been immortalized—with photographs as well—in such a work.

Perhaps the final test of any encyclopedia is to use it not for reference but for random reading. By this test, the *New Catholic Encyclopedia* scores very high marks indeed. The specialists are hardly ever allowed to hide behind the barrage of their own jargon. As a technical achievement the *Encyclopedia* is remarkable. So up to date is the information that one ceases to be surprised by references to events that happened less than a year before its publication. The *New Catholic Encyclopedia* is much more than a computerized work of reference. It can be counted an important stage in the Roman

Catholic Church's acceptance of its role in the second half of the twentieth century: to be ready to inquire as well as to teach, to place its resources at the service of all mankind and not merely of those who accept its right to speak. Much is heard of the crisis that is profoundly affecting so many of the Church's traditional structures if not its very being. Perhaps it is in America that the sudden realization that faith does not mean a closure on honest inquiry has had the most dramatic effect. The *New Catholic Encyclopedia* is in no sense designed to provide the definitive authority that will end all controversy: on the contrary it should do a great deal to stimulate it, and that at the level of opinion that is informed. But its combination of sound learning and a proper respect for what is valid in tradition is particularly valuable now, and not least when it is combined with a generous awareness of the real nature of the world in which the Church is meant to exist.

Writing more than a hundred years ago, Newman felt the need to vindicate the claims of theology to be regarded as an intellectual discipline in its own right. If experimentalists would be sure to cry out, did I attempt to install the Thomist philosophy in the schools of astronomy and medicine, why may not I, when Divine Science is ostracized, and La Place, or Buffon, or Humboldt, sit down in his chair, why may not I fairly protest against their exclusiveness, and demand the emancipation of Theology? The question might be differently framed now, but Newman's plea is in effect vindicated by such a work as the *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, which should assure a respect for the theologian because he in his turn is careful to grant their proper autonomy to all those other inquirers who share with him a common concern for the truth.

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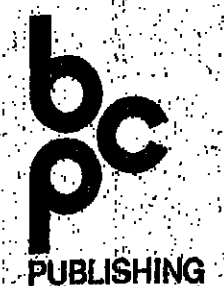
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## THE ROYALS AND THEIR RULES

GILSLAIN DE DIEBACH: *Secrets of the Gotha*. Translated by Margaret Crosland. 392pp. Chupman and Hall. £3 3s.  
 PHILIPPE JULIAN: *Edward and the Edwardians*. Translated by Peter Dawney. 312pp. Sldgwick and Jackson. £2 10s.  
 DAVID DUFF: *Hessian Tapestry*. 415pp. Muller. £3.

"A little too much is just enough for me." This remark once made by a dinner-guest could be taken as epitomizing the vigorous and highly coloured lives of most of the personalities who dart in and out of these three entertaining books. *Secrets of the Gotha* is a study of the contents of the *Almanach*—that book of royal lineages which (adapting Oscar Wilde) might be described as the best thing in fiction which the Germans have ever done. Both the French books are well translated and they were evidently written with a dash and sparkle which was truly Gallic. M. de Diebach's book contains some fictions which are certainly not included in the *Almanach*. He tells us, for example, that Queen Victoria's daughter-in-law, the Duchess of Coburg, who was both a royal and an imperial highness, died from shock when—after 1918—she received a letter from the republican government in Berlin addressed simply to Frau Coburg. He quotes a letter from the Grand Duchess of Mecklenburg-Schwerin refusing to marry her lover: "Rumours die as time passes, but a husband survives. I would rather have the rumours and my liberty." The wife of the first German emperor amused Berlin society by engaging in sharp conflict with her elderly sister, who was also married to a member of the Prussian royal family, over which of them should display the gayest wigs and the most sparkling *répliques*. We are told that her husband the Emperor, who squabbled with her, is supposed to have said to Bismarck: "If she were not Empress I would beat her until she begged for mercy."

M. Philippe Julian gives us a lively sketch of King Edward and his generation in a European rather

than an insular setting which is original and stimulating. Following M. de Diebach he has also many amusing anecdotes. We learn, for example, that the late Duke of Edinburgh, when staying in Paris with his brother, used to charge Parisians and Americans five louis for an introduction to the Prince and fifty louis for the chance of meeting him at a luncheon party. He quotes a saying of a French painter, which will jar somewhat on English ears, that Queen Alexandra had a face without expression which was like a Japanese double peony. Perhaps his most characteristic sketch is of the proprietor of a Parisian night-club bowing over the Prince's hand as he murmurs with an air of grief: "And your dear Mama?"

Mr. David Duff deals in more traditional and respectful style with the grand-ducal house of Hesse-Darmstadt into which the most attractive of Queen Victoria's children—Princess Alice—married, and he gives a well-drawn picture of her and her family. Presumably he would not agree with M. de Diebach, who curiously tells us that "there was a tendency to madness in the blood of the Hesse-Darmstadt." If it is true—and M. de Diebach clearly believes this—that the insanity of King Ludwig of Bavaria and his brother was inherited from his Prussian mother, it must be remembered that the grand-ducal family was descended from the same Prussian stock. There was certainly no sign of madness in the very early husband of Princess Alice if we except his extraordinary decision to make amorganatic marriage when Queen Victoria was his guest—an episode described with relish and gusto by Sir Henry Ponsonby to his wife "so you see we are in the midst of love matters."

The Battenbergs were a morganatic offshoot from the Hesse family;

here M. de Diebach reminds us that the word "morganatic" means marriage of pleasure. But the Battenbergs were less casual than that. Rather like the descendants of Beauharnais they invigorated royal Europe though the widespread introduction of the family to Queen Victoria's descendants seems to have accentuated the tendency to haemophilia. Mr. Duff quotes Dornier Creston (but he means Miss D. M. Stuart, a redoubtable authority now, alas, dead) for the suggestion that the disease was Saxe-Coburg in origin. But the Queen herself is against this theory when she says "it is not in our family", and was clearly referring to the Saxe-Coburgs.

Princess Alice, though she died prematurely, had a remarkable life. In youth in England she makes some entrancing appearances in the correspondence of Lord Clarendon (*My Dear Duchess*) edited by A. L. Kennedy. She was considered as a wife for the heir to the Dutch throne, and Clarendon wrote "she would stir up the Dutch famously." Though she was much liked by the inhabitants of Darmstadt they were perhaps too bourgeois to be stirred up by anyone. In the intervals of giving birth to a large family of famous children the grand-duchess immersed herself in philosophical problems and became very friendly with David Friedrich Strauss. As he was the author

of a book comparing the King of Prussia with Julian the Apostate we can hardly be surprised if the world of the *Almanach de Gotha* looked askance at the friendship; indeed the German Empress called the Princess a complete atheist and would no doubt have echoed the saying of a nineteenth-century Cambridge don about non-believers, "in healthier times they would have been burned".

Mr. Duff has drawn on the unpublished reminiscences of Princess Alice's eldest daughter, the late Marchioness of Milford Haven, and her descriptions of her sisters and of her grandmother are revealing and valuable. Lady Milford Haven is believed to have repeated to Queen Victoria a remark of her own mother: "I dare say that royalty is nonsense, but we must have certain rules to guide us." In a sense those rules lasted till the catastrophes of Europe in 1918, and the books of the two French authors show how it was possible for royalty to be human while roughly adhering to the rules. The destruction of formal manners and the gradual breaking of the rules have imposed great problems for the surviving royal families, but it is not difficult to imagine how, in the future, the frenzy and exaggerations of a nation could be tempered by the example of a dynasty, for, as Chateaubriand once said, "monarchy is an old tree on which may be grafted new fruits".

## COURT CIRCULAR

*Historical Memoirs of the Duc de Saint-Simon*. Vol. I, 1691-1709. Edited and translated by Lucy Norton. Introduction by D. W. Brogan. 535pp. Hamish Hamilton. £3 10s.

"The greatest and the most precious set of memoirs yet in existence", wrote Sainte-Beuve in 1851, and his assessment of Saint-Simon has hardly been invalidated by time. Despite the enormous length at which he wrote, the Duke retains his position as the most compulsively readable of all those writers who have reminisced on their lives and times. The noble families who hindered the publication of his memoirs until after the Revolution were only too well justified: since then their dissolute, cowardly or feckless ancestors have been doomed to perpetual exposure before the disrespectful eyes of posterity. Whether such was Saint-Simon's intention it is impossible to say: the long years of his retirement allowed him leisure to rework and revise his material, but he made no plans for publication. Unmethodical and even slapdash, he never put his huge manuscript into proper order, and it remains full of repetitions and digressions. There can never be such a thing as a definitive text, although the seven volumes of the Pléiade edition come near it. No translator has ever gone to the lengths of giving us a "complete" Saint-Simon in English, and Miss Norton's new two-volume translation is very substantially abridged.

The task of translating Saint-Simon cannot be an easy one: his style is highly personal and the mixture of formalized diction and colloquialisms has a raw tone. In the original which tends to become stilted in translation, Miss Norton has probably achieved about as much as can be expected of any translator—an honest approximation. The meaning is preserved in all essentials, but the flavour is inevitably lost, and the memoirs are robbed of some of their power to addle. In view of the labour involved in selection and translation, too much carping would be out of place, but there is sometimes a tendency to flatten out insignificant details, why translate "plus laide encore que" by "just as ugly as"? The fine cutting edge of the Duke's malice is honed on such subtleties. It hardly matters that a few quotes are inadequately rendered, but the Duc d'Orléans's vile jest about the Princesse des Ursins and Madame de Maintenon is bowdler-

ized in a way which makes it hard to understand why it caused so much trouble. As Miss Norton herself says, there can be no real substitute for the French text, and translations can only hope to whet the appetite of the reader: hers is more than good enough for that.

Any selection from a great masterpiece must inevitably disappoint those who know and love the original, and although there is a good deal of cross in the memoirs which no one is likely to regret, some of the editor's other excisions are at least open to discussion. It is regrettable that Saint-Simon's own introduction, in which he defends himself against the possible charge that he is lacking in charity towards his contemporaries, should have been omitted. A list of other passages worthy of inclusion would be tedious and unfair, but the reader would be well advised to supplement the present volume with Miss Norton's earlier *Saint-Simon at Versailles*. The portrait of Louis XIV certainly suffers without such scenes as that of his selfish cruelty to the Duchesse de Bourgogne during her pregnancy. A case could have been made for still more severe cuts in the descriptions of military events, which do not show Saint-Simon at his best, but this would have tended to make him appear more exclusively interested in affairs at court than was actually the case. By and large the balance of the original is successfully preserved, and editorial intrusion kept to a minimum of short linking sections and footnotes. And from it all the personality of the author emerges as irrepressibly as ever: passionate in defence of the aristocracy and their right to rule, but also the mercurial chronicler of the absurdities and immoralities of the court. For all his prejudices Saint-Simon was a man with genuine moral standards, and it was because of this that he was able to create a work of art from the trivialities of Versailles and Madrid, bringing to his task the unity of vision of a great novelist. Those who have been deflected by a lack of French should welcome this more than adequate edition, which is well produced and illustrated: they are likely to find themselves falling under the spell, and waiting impatiently for the promised second volume.

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## IDEOLOGY AND WRITING

By Lucien Goldmann

Genetic structuralism is a scientific and positive conception of human life whose principal thinkers are linked on the psychological plane (and only on the psychological plane) with Freud, Piaget and Plaget, and on the sociological plane with Hegel, Marx, Comte, Lukács and Lukácsian Marxism. It goes without saying that these names merely indicate the principal landmarks and do not constitute an exhaustive list.

On the socio-historical plane, of which literary creation is part, the principal discoveries of genetic structuralism are those of the *transindividual* (or collective) subject and of the *transindividual* subjectivity, or practical activity by the subject.

Genetic structuralism goes on from this to affirm that all human (and possibly animal) activity has a significant character, that is, it may be translated into conceptual language in order to emphasize that this significance is in no way linked with the consciousness of the subject (the activity of a cat chasing a mouse is significant although the cat is probably not conscious of it).

With the appearance of man, that is, a being endowed with language, there appears social life and the division of labour. From this point on, individualization has to be made between activities with an individual subject (public and activities with a transindividual subject (either collective or individual).

When John and Peter lift a heavy object, there are not two actions or two consciousnesses, for which the object respectively function as

object, but a single action, the *subject* of which is John and Peter and the consciousness of each of these two persons can only be understood in relation to this *transindividual* subject. In addition:

(a) the number of individuals constituting a transindividual subject may vary from two to several millions (who "waged" war on Hitler's Germany or "made" the October Revolution?);

(b) every individual involved in a number of different actions forms part of a great number of different transindividual subjects;

(c) it goes without saying that the consciousness of the transindividual subject has no reality of its own and exists only in the individual consciousnesses involved in a complex of structured relationships.

Now, the area of human life belonging to the transindividual subject embraces everything which, in man's activity, is directly or indirectly social and historical, that is, more especially, everything which concerns action on the natural and social world (food, protection, organization of interhuman relations, war, and hence all cultural life, especially, since it is our subject, all valid literary creation).

Three levels must be distinguished in this connexion:

(i) the unconscious, whose subject is individual (libido), constituted by the desires and aspirations which social life cannot accept and which have had to be repressed: Freud and certain of his disciples have shown that many activities (dreams, slips of the tongue, deliria) seem strictly significant when set in a biograph-

ical and genetic totality embracing the repressed unconscious;

(ii) the individual consciousness, constituting an area of varying importance, but one area only, that of activity and of its objective significance;

(iii) the non-conscious, constituted by the intellectual, affective, imaginary and practical structures of individual consciousness. The non-conscious is a creation of transindividual subjects and has, on the psychological plane, a status analogous to nervous or muscular structures on the physiological plane. It is distinct from the Freudian unconscious insofar as it is not repressed and does not need to overcome any resistance in order to become conscious, but merely to be brought to light by scientific analysis.

From this point of view, one could arrange all human activities along an imaginary line, with at one extreme those in which libidinal significance, with its individual subject, invades the consciousness and distorts it to the point of affecting the functioning of the transindividual coherence, these being the cases of mental aberration, and, at the other extreme, cases of almost total identification of one area of human activity (real, conceptual or imaginative) with the coherence of the transindividual subject (which may of course be conservative, oppositionist or revolutionary). Even extreme individualism is a form of transindividual consciousness, that is, comprehensible and explicable only if we start from a transindividual subject.

Those activities where libido, with its individual subject, is introduced almost without distortion into the coherence of the transindividual subject, are, among others, the ones

which lead to cultural creation (literary, philosophical, artistic, mythical).

There is no need to add that the vast majority of individual consciousnesses lie between these two extremes, constituting mixtures which aspire in varying degrees to two coherences with, respectively, an individual subject and a transindividual subject. Being mixtures they cannot have their own global significance but only show the greater or lesser predominance of certain of those aspirations to coherence which constitute them.

In relation to psychoanalysis, genetic-structuralist sociology accepted and developed, long before Freud, three of its fundamental ideas, namely:

(a) that every human fact is significant;

(b) that this significance derives from its character of relative totality (or, what comes to the same thing, "structure", and can only be brought out clearly by being introduced into a structure of which it forms part or with which it is identified;

(c) that significant structures are the result of a *genesis* and cannot be understood or explained independently of this genesis.

It has, however, always had to defend, against psychoanalysis, the specificity of the historical and cultural, based on the distinction between individual and transindividual subjects, and the impossibility of reducing, even in part, the cultural to the individual, or history to biography and, more especially, to libido.

Psychoanalytical explanations of literature display, among other

weaknesses, two fundamental ones: they can never explain important works in their totality but only a certain number of partial data, and in particular they are unable, for methodological reasons, to make clear the difference between the pathological and the aesthetic, between the dream or delirium of a lunatic and the work of a genius. Not to mention the fact that it is absurd and unscientific to attribute Oedipus with an unconscious and an Oedipus complex, "being given that Oedipus is a literary figure who exists only in a text" and cannot reveal any characteristics over and above what is explicitly indicated in this text.

Against these psychological, biographical and especially existentialist conceptions of sociology and literary criticism, genetic structuralism, while recognizing the existence of an individual psychology and the will to change (or, in Marxist language, the praxis), which characterizes all human activity, has had to defend the existence of structures deriving from the transindividual character of the historical praxis. Without these structures it is impossible to understand, in a positive and scientific manner, the objective significance of any cultural or social fact.

Finally, as against the non-genetic structuralism now developing in French thought, as against Lévi-Strauss, Barthes, Greimas, Foucault, Althusser, Lacan &c., genetic structuralism, which has long been stressing the essential importance of structures in understanding history must now defend the existence of the transindividual subject, the fact that the structure is not an autonomous and active entity which holds man prisoner, but an *essential characteristic* of the activity of a

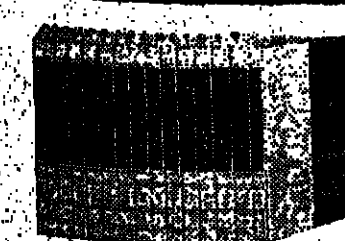
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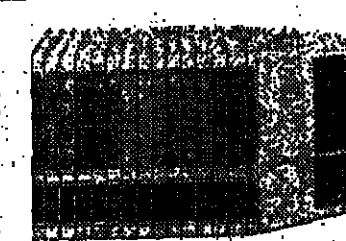
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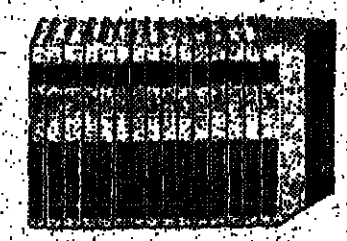
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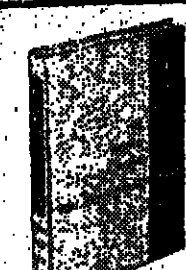
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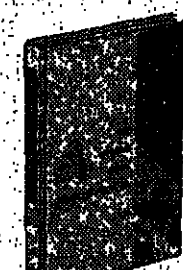
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French Poets

SYMBOLISTS AND AFTER

BERNARD WEINBERG: *The Limits of Symbolism*. Studies of five modern French poets. 430pp. University of Chicago Press. £3 12s.  
ROBERT G. COHN: *Mallarmé's Masterwork*. 80pp. The Hague: Mouton. 20 Guilders.  
ELÉONORE M. ZIMMERMANN: *Magies de Verlaine*. 350pp. Paris: José Corti. 30fr.  
MORTIMER GUINÉY: *La Poésie de Pierre Reverdy*. 261pp. Geneva: Librairie de L'Université. 25fr.  
ALAIN JOUFFROY: *Les plus belles pages de Saint-Pol-Roux*. 296pp. Paris: Mercure de France. 48fr.  
M. A. RUFF: *Baudelaire*. Translated by Agnes Kertész. 205pp. University of London Press. 25s.

In his new book Professor Weinberg switches from Racine to the French Symbolists. It is not, as the title might suggest, either a treatise on the Symbolists or a collection of essays on individual poets. It consists of a series of detailed analyses of thirteen poems by five different poets: four by Baudelaire, five by Mallarmé which occupy half the volume, two by Verlaine, and one each by Rimbaud and Saint-John Perse. The term "symbol" is interpreted in its broadest sense. It is the central image round which a poem is constructed: the swan in Baudelaire's "Le Cygne" or Mallarmé's "Le vierge, le vivace et le bel aujourd'hui" and the vessel in "Le Bateau ivre".

The symbolist method (writes the professor) depends upon the suppression of part of the metaphor that would normally be clearly stated, and we must recover that part by means of the "signs" and "pointers" of which I have spoken. The process of recovery is an intellectual process. The critic's aim is "the identification and description of the object symbolized—of that second, unexpressed half of the metaphor", the translation of the "symbol" into the object "symbolized", and "the determination of what special effects result from the use of a symbolist structure".

The author appears to be hampered in the present work, as he was in his study of Racine, by an undue insistence on "structure" at the expense of the other elements in a poem and by the rigidly intellectual nature of what he calls "the process of recovery". The symbols are conscientiously "translated" and the different images in a poem are related to the central image, but he has little or nothing to say about language or the extraordinary beauty of some of the images that he is busily fitting into the "structure" of the poem. His work is useful in so far as it encourages a more careful reading of these poets. Its limitation is that it fails to convey the atmosphere, the "feel" of a poem, or, on the debit side, to detect the large dose of sentimentality in Verlaine's "Cimetière marin".

In addition to the general limitation, the merits of the essays vary considerably. There is little in the studies of "Un voyage à Cythère" or "Le Bateau ivre" that a sensitive reader could not discover for himself. The author is at his best in the long analysis of *Un Coup de dés*. He observes, interestingly, that "in its basic structure... *Un Coup de dés* is entirely traditional", and because he subordinates "structure" for once to straight elucidation of the poem he is a good deal more helpful than in most of the remaining studies.

Professor Weinberg's aim is purely practical. Professor Cohn's, in his opening chapters, might be described as largely speculative. His book is a form of appendix to an earlier study of *Un Coup de dés*, published in 1952. It takes account of "new findings" that have since come to light, which means primarily Jacques Scherer's publication of *Le Livre* and Jean-Pierre Richard's edition of "Le poème de l'Analogie". He advances the theory that *Un Coup de dés* and the two other works were all intended as part of the Great Work. He supports his case by pointing to similarities of vocabulary and imagery in all three. It is a possible point of view, though it cannot be said that the present demonstration is conclusive. He comes closer to Professor Weinberg in his third chapter in which he reviews, supplements or amends some of his own previous readings of the poem. The last chapter is an account, illustrated by photographs of the unpublished literature edition of the under- stood that the proofs have now been acquired by the University Library and that the university intends to publish them with the *Œuvres complètes*.

In the opinion of Miss Zimmermann Verlaine is emerging from a period of temporary eclipse and the time is ripe for a fresh study of his poetry. She guides us painstakingly through the whole of his work, selecting outstanding poems in each of his collections for detailed comment. Although her method is different from Professor Weinberg's it suffers from the same kind of limitation. She concentrates on metrical variety and musical effects, but quite a lot slips through her net. There was in Verlaine a genuine folk poet and a modern poet whose experiments with metrics and language undoubtedly had a very considerable influence on his contemporaries and successors. In some of the verse the voice of the folk poet is simple, clear and pure; in other pieces his language has clearly been affected by Romanticism. Miss Zimmermann quotes the whole of the "Chanson d'automne" with approval: she does not mention the general deterioration which has taken place in the language of popular poetry and which is evident in this poem. She also quotes the whole of "Un grand sommeil noir", but does far less than justice to the remarkable last verse which she appears to compare, to its disadvantage, with the mode of *Romances sans paroles*. She subscribes to the high opinion held by a number of distinguished French critics of the religious poems, and like them seems unwilling to see the undoubted element of *salut-nécessité* in them. One remembers, for example, the lamentable "Je ne veux plus aimer que ma mère Marie" which she prudently refrains from quoting.

She has nevertheless written a useful if unexciting book. She admits that Verlaine's "evolution" was not a straight line, indicating steady progress, but a "zig-zag" revealing ups and downs. Her conclusion is that "sa poésie repose essentiellement sur un sens très développé et original de la langue, des sons, sur une sensibilité visuelle et psychologique des plus fines qui ait jamais été donnée à un poète." What this leaves out is the soft centre in the man which had an immense effect on the poet and makes us put a mark of interrogation against her final "grand poète". "Since the eighteenth century", writes Mr. Guiney in the opening sentence of his study of Reverdy, "Paris has been the centre of all artistic activities in France. Like a powerful magnet the city attracts the talented from all parts of the country." There are at least three examples among modern French writers of poets who were born in the provinces, who were drawn to Paris and whose reputations seem to have been seriously affected through their going into voluntary exile in their late thirties or middle forties: Max Jacob, who abandoned Paris in 1921 and went to live at Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire, where he remained except for one seven-year interruption until he was arrested by the Germans in 1944 and died ten days later in a concentration camp; Saint-Pol-Roux, who withdrew to Brittany in 1904 and was murdered there by a drunken German soldier in 1940; and Reverdy himself, who retired to Solesmes, which he was later to call "l'affreux petit village", in 1926.

Max Jacob's death produced a cluster of enthusiastic monographs followed by silence and neglect. Three-quarters of his work is said to be still unpublished and his friend André Billy's revised study in the "Poètes" d'aujourd'hui series closes on a note of serious doubt about his ultimate standing. After Saint-Pol-Roux's death his house was demolished by Allied bombers and many of his unpublished manuscripts perished with it. In his introduction to the present selection M. Jouffroy describes him as the "premier baroque moderne". It is

a highly ambiguous formula which means, primarily, that "Saint-Pol-Roux en renverse la hiérarchie des valeurs comme un baroque". "Many other tragedies", Saint-Pol-Roux appears "un baroque" in the sense that the people who protested most vigorously against his alleged neglect were the Surrealists. For anyone reading this selection he is puzzled to discover the difference between "the first modern baroque" and the Surrealists. There is the same sentimentality: "L'incroyable, varié suivant les explorateurs. L'absolu se personnalise: l'universel s'individualise." There is also the same element of the "absurd": "Une pie, réintégrant son marronnier, ferme et défend sa lettre de faire part".

Mr. Guiney has written a sympathetic and interesting account of Reverdy as man and poet, which is to be followed by a further study of the prose writer. He rightly emphasises the importance of his religious difficulties. He came of a strong anti-clerical family who had withdrawn from him even a knowledge of the existence of Christ, so that when he went one day into a church he was terrified at the sight of a "hanging man" on the wall. About 1911 he was converted and became a fervent Catholic. Two years after settling at Solesmes he lost his faith completely and never recovered it. He was a highly talented writer whose work deserves re-examination, but his failure either to come to terms with religion or to work out an alternative which would provide a centre for his work would appear to stump him indubitably as a major poet.

The reasons for publishing English translations of French critics and the public for whom they are intended must always be something of a mystery. It is underlined by the appearance of a slightly abridged English version of M. Ruff's monograph on Baudelaire which was originally published in the excellent "Collection des Lettres" series in 1959. Although sponsored by university presses on both sides of the Atlantic the numerous quotations from French poetry are, with a few exceptions, given only in the English language. This is maddening for anyone who has read Baudelaire in French and can convey nothing of his quality to those who have not.

ANGLOPHIL

YVES BONNEFOY: *Un Rite du Poète*. 209pp. Paris: Mercure de France. 14.50fr.

These essays of Yves Bonnefoy are chapters in an ongoing art-poetics whose themes, images and obsessions (fire, stone, the quest, wisdom, death) are related dialectically to his poetic "superstructure": they embody the myths that the rites of his poetry enact. As if in demonstration, among others, the essays celebrate the Russian Jewish religious poet, the Lev Shestov. Glacemont, Seton as well as Byzantine art and Baroque architecture. Of particular interest to English readers is the remarkable essay on "le poème français" which is an attempt to define the nature of French poetic language. In addition, the volume also contains his small, of-print, second collection of poems, *La Seconde simplicité*.

Yves Bonnefoy is the author of an excellent study of Rimbaud and of what he has called "l'œuvre de Saint-Pol-Roux". He has also translated French literature for several years in France, and it would be good if we could have translations of his prose, which is in the tradition of Baudelaire and Valéry.

Poetry in Spanish

CONVOCAION OF SNAILS

IT IS OF THE NATURE of a symbol to hint at what cannot be said, but whereas some things cannot be said because they are by nature inexpressible in words, others—not by nature incapable of being verbalized—cannot be put into words merely because there is some reason why it would be unwise to state them too explicitly. Spain has always been a land to use symbols, for either out of those two reasons, but it is particularly true of the past thirty years that very many things have had to be given a symbolic form precisely because it might have been impolitic to state them too explicitly. Thus it seems to us to assume that the photograph in the jacket of José María Castellet's *Un canto de siglo de poesía española* (1939-1964) has some symbolic function: it shows a bare, dry, barkless wooden post, with a convocation of political prisoners clustering thickly together at its very top—some stuck on others' backs and all of them aridly up the pole. This is indeed by no means an attempt to symbolize the body of poets writing inside Spain—and in the Spanish language—during the past five years which followed the end of the Spanish Civil War. But, as the one hand, not all poets writing in Spanish have had to live and write in Spain (and there is a very different kind of vitality in most Spanish American poetry, which falls outside the scope of this review) and on the other, not all poets writing in Spain have been writing since the Spanish three years before the publication of this Spanish anthology.

Castellet (in collaboration with Joaquín Molas) had published a volume entitled *Poesía catalana del siglo XX* and it is instructive to compare the Catalan poetry of the period before the Civil War with the Castilian poetry written in the same country during the same years.

For the Catalans, the realities of the situation were bleaker: the desire to write in their own tongue was politically suspect in itself, being either associated with "Catalan nationalism" and hence construed as subversive, or viewed (at best) as an unduly centrifugal activity—in itself by its very nature with the appearance of a slightly abridged English version of M. Ruff's monograph on Baudelaire which was originally published in the excellent "Collection des Lettres" series in 1959. Although sponsored by university presses on both sides of the Atlantic the numerous quotations from French poetry are, with a few exceptions, given only in the English language. This is maddening for anyone who has read Baudelaire in French and can convey nothing of his quality to those who have not.

Castellet's introductory survey shows to what extent the European parallel is valid, discussing Surrealism as a prolongation of the Symbolists' attempt to evade reality, before going on (with an approving comment on Edmund Wilson's *Axel's Castle*) to consider the contrast between the symbolist tradition and the development of more "realistic" attitudes. He associates the latter with the shift from the isolationism of any "art for art's sake" movement to a general consciousness of something not far from a sense of the social mission: the poet's sense of his own "social responsibility" is to shine through; he is merely "participating in the same social enterprise", although by virtue of his special talents he may be able to make its nature explicit by singling man's life from its historical perspective; and the nature of his poetic experience is only validated insofar as it symbolises and expresses... the experience which the poet shares with other men. All this is very true, although one might guess that a general disillusionment with the ability of the poet to shape or mould (or in any way to modify) the society in which he lives has already set in by now—not just in Spain, nor yet because of Spain's peculiar set of circumstances.

More interesting, perhaps, than the social factors lying behind the shift in general poetic attitude which he discusses are its literary consequences. All writing which purports to represent the world in any way is a two-stage process: selection, dominated by the writer's attitude (which may—but need not necessarily—be socially motivated); and the representation of what has been selected, in which actual techniques must dominate. Sr. Castellet has neatly put his finger on the two main aspects of the shift when he stresses, on the one hand, a shift "in the method of abstracting... real experience" away from the mythical-omni-symbolic towards a primarily historical-narrative approach, and on the other hand a movement away from a poetic

contemporary Catalan writers have set about preserving and developing their language has given the greater part of their work a strength of purpose which has saved it from the curiously sad and arid feeling of cultural and political obsolescence that tinges most poetry written in Castilian during Franco's "Twenty-Five Years of Peace"—the precise period covered by Sr. Castellet's Spanish anthology. Its appearance in an earlier form (*Poemas de poesía española 1939-1959*) sparked off a violent argument, and both this book and the Catalan anthology which he compiled with Senyor Molas have proved to be—most unexpectedly—extremely controversial works in Spain. What has aroused most controversy, however, was not their political implications (which could hardly be thrashed out in the pages of the Spanish press, in spite of the transformation of the old pre-publication censorship into a form of retrospective scrutiny which ties a publisher's hands more firmly than before) but the distinctly unusual manner of proceeding which characterizes both these volumes. It is one which merits at least as much consideration here as does the poetry it marshals.

The key to the approach is given in a quotation from Christopher Caudwell's *Illusion and Reality*, used by Sr. Castellet to preface the Castilian volume: "It is impossible to understand modern poetry unless we understand it historically—in motion. We can only bring back dead formulae from a study of poetry as static 'works of art', as something frozen and ossified. This is particularly true where poetry is the organic product of a whole society violently in motion." In the Spanish version quoted by Sr. Castellet, the words "frozen and ossified" qualify not the works of art but the "dead formulae" (which is a pity), but the Marxist marrow of the message is of course still there—and the decision to quote Caudwell has just as much symbolic force as that photograph of the snails (or as Sr. Castellet's explicit dedication of his volume to the memory of Antonio Machado—"on the twenty-fifth anniversary of his death"), for Caudwell was killed in action on the Jarama in 1937, fighting in Spain as a member of the International Brigade. But the quotation has far more than a merely symbolic function: the ideas it embodies have structured the entire anthology (as also the Catalan companion volume). In a preliminary "Justification" (written in answer to the critics of the earlier version) Sr. Castellet explains how the need to view modern poetry in motion had led him to reject not merely the "static" kind of anthology which presents each poem *sub specie aeternitatis*, but also any attempt to build up a collection round a number of respected names, with the poems grouped according to their authorship. Instead, he set about compiling a "dynamic" anthology, whose strictly chronological sequence was designed to show the dynamic character of the evolution of poetry, during a well-defined period of time and within one particular society.

The criterion of mere "literary quality" was, he tells us, consciously rejected in favour of establishing a sequence of poems "whose choices, initially the fruit of trial and error, should gradually acquire a *raison d'être* both as a function of its historical implications and as a function of its strictly literary peculiarities". Naturally, the anthology's subjective response to his texts was not to be eliminated altogether (which would have been not only impossible but undesirable), but it was to be properly controlled and hence exploited more effectively by virtue of becoming only one of a number of factors—the others being quite clearly thought of by the anthologist as strictly objective. Subjectivity creeps in again, however, by the back door, not merely when assessing one's responses to individual poems as poems but also, for example, when the anthologist endeavours to select from among the Spanish-born poets writing outside Spain "such

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authors... as have most profoundly influenced Spanish poetry of recent years"—especially when this condition bears the rider that these authors are to be "so strongly linked to Spain in every aspect that their works form, together with those written inside the country, a single and indivisible cultural corpus". Indeed, the seemingly scientific approach of this anthology turns out, after a while, to be thoroughly subjective after all. Nor, of course, is this to be deplored (for it is of the nature of every kind of literary judgment to be subjective, in the last resort) but it is worth inquiring what has happened to the poetry, as a result of the intrusion of the non-literary factors which so clearly dominate Sr. Castellet's own view of his approach.

In the first place, it must be said that he does what he set out to do extremely efficiently. The body of Spanish poetry which he assembles does have an organic unity; it does display a development in time, evolving dynamically; and it does, in its progression, shed considerable light on the history of Spanish society and Spanish culture. In other words, the anthology does indeed succeed in acquiring "a *raison d'être*... as a function of its historical implications"; but one may still differ from the view that the poems, as opposed to the anthology itself, are really dependent on their "historical implications" to justify their existence and their status. Sr. Castellet is such an honest critic, however, that when he gets down to studying the nature of the development of Spanish poetry during his period, what emerges most clearly is a primarily literary evolution: his poets do, on the whole, share in the general pattern of European poetry, with a shift away from Symbolism towards a more "realistic" attitude and approach, although historical circumstances may have fostered the urge towards "realism" more intensely in Spain (while at the same time restricting the area of what might be freely treated in a realistic way).

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## ALMANACH DE GOETHE

RONALD GRAY: *Goethe. A Critical Introduction.* 289pp. Cambridge University Press. 40s. (Paperback, 15s.).

Dr. Gray proclaims that his book was written "to provide a concise account of Goethe's works", and also "to question an established reputation". It does both, the second better than the first and at the expense of the first, which fortunately has been done very adequately by Henry Hatfield.

The operative word in the title is "critical", for Dr. Gray is an lingo of an informant, "nothing if not critical". Goethe himself advised the critic that "where one cannot love one should pass by", but Dr. Gray conspicuously omits from his account Goethe's aesthetic theories and life-long interest in art. This is symptomatic of his literalistic and yet arbitrary approach, which produces not the "coherence" and "consistency" which he misses in Goethe's creative writing but an incompleteness born of bias and prejudice, and which results in an overall flatness far removed from the fertile vein of lingo's wit.

In spite of his professed and implied views about the function and conduct of literary criticism—he pretentiously repudiates "great quantities of the academic writing which appears these days"—Dr. Gray's appreciation of the nature of literature itself is altogether too prosaic for the subject with which he is confronted. His perception of detail is sharp, but he does not appear to see how poetry works as a whole, and

that it can live and flourish on what in discursive writing would remain illogical and ambiguous. Consequently the book is peppered with accusations of ambiguity, vagueness, inconsistency, perfunctoriness and inconsequentiality. In literary appreciation these are not judgments, but abdication of judgment, abdicating it, what is more, the preconceived determination to disparage a poetic achievement only imperfectly appreciated; as a result his comments and analyses sound crudely mechanistic. The only "form" he knows is external form—"Über allen Gipfeln" has a form—it has rhyme and symmetry and a climax, a pause and a dying fall—as if form were simply the accompaniment to the contents; and so he never conveys that sense of the fusion of form and content into a new whole which is communicated by the most sensitive of critics, such as Emil Stalger, whom he rightly admires.

The plays are marginally the worst sufferers from this treatment. Dr. Gray is surprised by his "vague impression" that Egmont "is vindicated". Yet the title itself, *Egmont*, announces simply the presentation of a character and what he stands for. Dr. Gray would have been repaid by detailed study of the imagery and its contribution to the final apotheosis of freedom. Even the horses are not horses but accident: like freedom itself, horses are the most delicate of crea-

tures, and yet the most sensitive and deserving of control rising to the height of their powers only when taxed to the utmost. There is always the danger that they will bolt; but even in Egmont's image of the final finger-tip control is still retained. All Dr. Gray sees in the play as a whole is the onward rush, out of control. But it is the function of the "melodramatic" apothecary just as precarious a "control", to convey that delicate sense of grandeur at the end. Here Egmont's real "heroic merits" are aesthetically realized, here the "intensification" which Dr. Gray sceptically makes much of in the contents of *Tasso*, functions inside the linguistic texture itself, and the dream vision of Klärchen vindicates on a higher level Egmont's own nature and his conception of the Netherlands.

Not surprisingly, *Tasso* is one of the worst casualties of Dr. Gray's heavy-handedness, for this presentation of a creative artist in the midst of life's tribulations, fashioning an image by which to live, does not even "persuade us that he has poetic gifts". But *Iphigenie* and *Faust* fare as badly—the latter "almost deliberately inadequate"—and even in Goethe's prose fiction Dr. Gray repeatedly misses the point. In *Werther* he does not distinguish sufficiently between the author, the editor and the hero, and considers that

the latter's inadequacies "must be the reception of the serious theme of the novel"—as if the two could be separated and used for different purposes! Of course a reader so captivated to the shape and wholeness of the shorter dramatic and prose works passes clean over the web of linguistic and thematic relationships of *Wilhelm Meister*, is unable to grapple with James's verdict that "its greatest work of art resides in this very absence of form". And completely oblivious to the role in *Die Wahlverwandtschaften* of the fine arts, he misses the novel easily as the product of "an over-rigid formalism which he pays less than enough respect". Nor is the book's overall worthiness for the first-year student and the "general reader" enhanced by the politico-historical preface in Dr. Gray's earlier work ("One cannot avoid the memory of feeling that Goethe had some foreboding of similar events during the Second World War.") and the errors in the notes and index, although the chronological table is useful. Yet even allowing for all this, to call him an lingo of criticism is over-generous. His account, blighted by his own "critical" bias and it is to be hoped that the "general reader" will be able to retain his independence of mind, so as to be Dr. Gray's insight into details illuminate his own sense of the wholeness of the poetic works.

## ELECTIVE AFFINITIES

H. G. BARNES: *Goethe's "Die Wahlverwandtschaften": A Literary Interpretation.* 219pp. Clarendon Press: Oxford University Press. 45s. MDN. 16.

HANS JÜRGEN GEERTS: *Goethes Roman "Die Wahlverwandtschaften".* 227pp. Beiträge zur Deutschen Klassik. Vol. VI. Berlin: Aufbau. MDN. 18.

WALTER SCHLEIF: *Goethes Diener.* 308pp. Beiträge zur Deutschen Klassik. Vol. XVII. Berlin: Aufbau. MDN. 18.

Hardly any other work of Goethe presents the critic with so many teasing problems as does his novel *Die Wahlverwandtschaften*, through the subtlety of its theme and the esoteric nature of its technique. In the half-isolation of a country estate four persons, a married couple, Eduard and Charlotte, their ward Ottilie, and a friend, the Captain, go through the paces of a grave minutely of which the term is death: death for the newborn child of Eduard and Charlotte, for Ottilie, and finally for Eduard himself. Focal point of the action is the state of marriage: at one level an institution devised by society to express and contain our instinctive urges, at another and the highest level, a channel for our spiritual aspirations towards selfless love as a reflection of the divine. To what laws do these two urges answer, and what happens when they clash? At this level of instinct, some force analogous to that of chemical valencies—the "elective affinities" or *Wahlverwandtschaften* of the title—seems to decree that the unstable compound Eduard-Charlotte, in reaction with the other elements, Ottilie and the Captain, must be broken up and replaced by the new compound Eduard-Ottilie. But the accidental drowning of Charlotte's child brings Ottilie insight into the degree of her unconscious guilt, and sets her on a spiritual course towards death and a saintly apotheosis as a way to a higher and more perfect form of love than is possible on earth.

If the theme seems man to be the focal point of laws or compulsions of widely disparate type, the narrative technique adopted here as a further agent of refraction. The poet uses what can only be described as a mirror-technique by which, through the parallel and significant recurrence of elements of action, character and setting, a dense tissue of reference backwards and forwards is created which reveals—but also conceals—his intentions. The poet has further chosen to speak through a narrator, that of an unscrupulous man of the world and sceptical observer of people and their motives. The result of all this is that the text is like a tapestry of which the reverse side is presented: a con-

fusing mass of seemingly unrelated threads. The critical process must seek to reverse the canvas and display the right side, with its satisfying pattern.

It is only recently that critics have paid more attention to the implications of Goethe's esoteric technique as a key to the meaning of the work. Since 1808 most writers, faced with this labyrinth of a work, have been tempted to look for a quick and convenient route to the centre, either by taking the work as a tract on marriage and court, or by concentrating on the implications of the ending, or of "late-novel", pressing into service for this purpose the term "demonic". Of course, the book is about marriage, it—the Catholic theme of the loved woman who, after death, continues to intervene on behalf of those she loved in this world and there is some authority in this and in other works of Goethe—for the assumption of demonic forces which impinge on human decisions. The prime "demonic" episode in this novel is the child which, as a result of adulterous fantasies by both partners to the marriage act, bore the features, not of his real parents but of Ottilie and the Captain.

But the true intention of the poet can only be discerned if the issue of significant *leitmotifs* is first unraveled. This is the late Dr. Barnes has done. He is the first to follow out all these threads, and to do so with sober and meticulous accuracy. The various short-cuts to illumination he treats, rightly, with a dry and refreshing scepticism. For the minor uses of the term "pre-figuration" it is not surprising that an equation with so many variables does not render an unequivocal sense, and Dr. Barnes is as prolific in revealing "ambiguities" as he is in detecting "bits of pre-figuration", which are first "acknowledged" and then "actualized". Further, in the first time, a study, in depth, of the four main characters is supplemented by a fifth inquiry, which runs throughout the book, into the attitude and function of Goethe's narrator persona, and the element of pre-figuration

caused by the intermingling of personalities—now raised to five. This is a critical study for critics; and indeed, how can one describe a labyrinth? To change the image, Dr. Barnes drives converging shafts into the interior, in successive chapters, from different points of vantage: the action proper, spatial and temporal relationships, Eduard, Ottilie, Charlotte, the Captain. There is much repetition as the various strands are followed. The liberal quotations from Goethe's text and the statements of critics are not translated.

On most of his central arguments, Dr. Barnes is clear and carries conviction. Eduard and Ottilie emerge from this rigorous treatment with their stature enhanced: Charlotte and the Captain suffer a corresponding diminution in significance and human appeal. The extracts from Ottilie's journal given in the second part of the novel are shown to be reflecting surfaces by which Goethe indicates to the observant reader her hidden growth in spiritual maturity, and are pre-figurative anticipations of the closing events. On the manner and import of Ottilie's end, however, Dr. Barnes is less than convincing. Two points are for determination: did she commit suicide, and is her final role that of a saint? Dr. Barnes argues that when Goethe called her "die Heilige" he meant what he said. This then, seems to Dr. Barnes to imply the rejection of the common opinion that she died by her own will. Yet he cannot, but admit that her denial of food expresses a need to offer satisfaction in order to atone for her crime. But this, technically if not morally, amounts to some kind of self-immolation. It is, difficult to avoid the inference that, for Dr. Barnes, this is a final "ambiguity" which he would willingly resolve in favour of the milder view, but cannot.

H. J. Geerts's carefully documented book, by applying the categories and methods of Marxist literary criticism, attempts to persuade its readers of the supreme importance of *Die Wahlverwandtschaften* as a great exemplar of European realism. The author's subtle mind and sensitive response to literary form ensure fresh insights, particularly into the relation

of plot to character, and of both to the historical situation within which the work was conceived and written.

Herr Geerts's central thesis is clearly stated: *Die Wahlverwandtschaften* constitutes Goethe's "didactic against Romanticism", in the final apotheosis of Ottilie Goethe offers his readers the consoling prospect of a humane outlook of life, after the passing of the decaying feudalism and that Romantic rootlessness which are symbolized in the figure of Eduard. In spite of the evidence which Herr Geerts adduces in support of this thesis, it must be pronounced unproven. To see in Ottilie a representative of all that is best and most forward-looking in the bourgeoisie remains as difficult as to see in the whole novel an implicit condemnation of Romanticism. The end of *Die Wahlverwandtschaften*, in fact, in which Herr Geerts says we have to recognize a compromise between the *Volk* and its "haughty" legends, seems rather to show that Goethe was not as imperious to Romanticism and its favourite symbols as he sometimes claimed to be. It may also be thought that in his justified enthusiasm for Goethe's achievement, Herr Geerts blots himself too much to some of the book's blemishes. And when, in the final sentence of his stimulating book, Herr Geerts claims that *Die Wahlverwandtschaften* has influenced the development not only of the German novel, but also of the European novel, one can only disagree. There is no evidence to show that its influence on European literature was anything but minimal, or that it has had any important direct influence outside German-speaking countries.

Walter Schleif's book, published in the same series, offers a careful examination of all the elements (and there are surprising many) that relate to the male protagonist Goethe attached to himself various lines in his long life, letters, diary entries and memoirs, and up into short biographies of some of these men, are informative of known aspects of eighteenth-century German society, and, incidentally, increase one's respect for Goethe's good sense and humanity.

## WEST MEETS EAST

HANS KONINGSBERGER: *Love and Hate in China.* 150pp. Cape. 21s.

Mr. Koningsberger falls short of the expectations raised by his title—he would have found a great deal more hate on view if he had gone to China last year or this rather than in 1965—but the title does describe where his interest and his sensibilities lie. A novelist of Dutch origin, settled in the United States for the past decade, he was able to go to China, writing occasional pieces for the *New Yorker*, certainly extracts the temper of China, or as much of it as can be squeezed from the conducted journeys and the occasional urban saunters that are as much as the western visitor can contrive. The result is more readable and more convincing if not more informative than most books of this kind written by sympathetic newcomers to the China scene. The political bias that emerges—if it even deserves the noun—is a distaste for American policy towards China rather than a left-wing commitment to the revolution. This last has been the most common signboard for the casual visitor; more rarely there is the right-winger who goes to confirm the existence of a red tyranny. Yet another variety is the person who disclaims any serious political interest but enthuses over the architecture or some aspect of the arts, upheld by hopes for the received version of Chinese civilization.

Mr. Koningsberger escapes even this last label. He bravely joins the few who confess themselves disappointed by the starved tourist item of the Forbidden City. He is quite right in saying that what, it needs, is officials and ceremony; it is now a sadly empty stage-set from which the actors in the longest-lived system of government the world has yet known have all departed.

He admits but does not parade the constant irritations to which the visitor is subjected: the mysterious muddles, delays and plain unwilling-

ness to answer straight questions that make the threads of the cocoon in which the visitor exists. After waiting for years for his visa he found he had very little freedom to travel and most of his requests were ignored. For all that he sustains a kindly tolerance to the Chinese scene and often has some precise observations to record. He shares a waiting-room with North Vietnamese students who are treated with the same punctilious distance that he gets; going through the east China plain by a leisurely Chinese train he senses the weariness of a landscape worked over for so long; he reflects on a country where the lowest civil servant appointed by the government was the county magistrate whose jurisdiction covered about two hundred thousand people—when we see a troubled China we should remember what an astonishing self-discipline the Chinese have; they must be the easiest people in the world to govern.

Perhaps the most profound change is the presence of communist cadres in every village where once the county magistrate was a distant figure: every peasant has now been made conscious of government in a way they never were before. Along with this comes a defined and successfully propagated new morality. It is the one factor in China today that the western visitor cannot shirk even if he does not write about it. Mr. Koningsberger does and sensibly, too, comparing it at one point with Europe in the pre-capitalist Middle Ages.

This is a slight book but genuine, trying to give us a picture of daily life in so far as it can be observed, and with a useful list of prices for everyday goods from which one can estimate Chinese standards. Only in one chapter on the language problem does Mr. Koningsberger sink under a weight of errors.

## EAST MEETS WEST

PAT BARR: *The Coming of the Barbarians. A Story of Western Settlement in Japan, 1853-1870.* 236pp. 22 plates. Macmillan. 37s. 6d.

There is an almost obsessive fascination about the impact made on the Japanese by the American and European intruders who appeared on the scene in the middle of the nineteenth century. Both seriously and in light-hearted vein the subject has been thoroughly discussed in many histories and memoirs; and it has been analysed in a large number of scholarly works, not only in European languages but also in Japanese. For naturally the entire topic has always attracted great attention in Japan, never more so perhaps than at the moment, with the approaching centenary of the Meiji Restoration of 1868.

No new ground, then, is broken by *The Coming of the Barbarians*. Mrs. Pat Barr tells a story very familiar to historians of the period. She makes no pretence to Japanese scholarship or to a novel interpretation of the facts. A pedagogue might say that her book is no more than an able compilation of certain secondary sources. But of course Mrs. Barr is not writing for specialists. She is addressing a much wider readership. So two questions, above all, seem relevant here. Is her book generally accurate? And in terms of its presentation is it interesting and therefore agreeable?

To the first question the answer must be that the author has committed no notable blunders. The purist may be able to spot an error here and there. Mrs. Barr is mistaken when she describes Mito as a southern clan. Consul Harris at Shimoda took up quarters in an abandoned Buddhist—not Shinto—temple. In any case it is incorrect to speak of a Shinto temple (the appropriate term here is "shrine"). But these are trifling points. A more serious criticism would be that the essential background of Japanese domestic

politics is depicted somewhat baldly at times; and highly complicated issues tend to be oversimplified. Moreover, the author's Barbarians are, almost without exception, Englishmen and Americans. Practically nothing is said about the Russians. Admiral Putiatin, for example, finds no mention in the book.

Still, it is no little achievement to serve up in a single palatable omelette the eggs laid by such varied old hens as Townsend Harris, Laurence Oliphant, J. R. Black, and Rutherford Alcock. In other words Mrs. Barr earns high marks for the attractive and intelligent presentation of her tale. Her concoction is admirably prepared, the ingredients well blended, the flavour full without being cloying. It is no surprise to learn that the author spent three years in Japan, two of them in Yokohama; the setting of so much that she describes. Her writing displays a sympathetic understanding of the difficulties—not all of which have disappeared—that faced the long-nosed, large-eyed, clumsy foreigners in their daily intercourse with the Japanese among whom they lived.

An item of useless if engaging information is offered here to Mrs. Barr, in the hope that she may include it in the sequel to her present book: Possibly the only contribution made by the Japanese language to English slang is that almost forgotten idiom, "hunky dory"—meaning: "all right"; "O.K.". In the old days at Yokohama, ninety or 100 years ago, the British seaman, rolling home to his ship from the tea-house late at night and losing his way, would ask for *Honcho-dori*—the main street, which led to the harbour. And so this thoroughfare became synonymous, throughout the Merchant Navy, with safety. It was the road back to bunk and hammock.

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## Chinese Literature

# FROM HAN TO MAO

An Anthology of Chinese Verse. Translated and annotated by J. D. Frodsham with the collaboration of Ch'eng Hsi. 198pp. Clarendon Press: Oxford University Press. 35s.

Traditional Chinese Plays. Translated, described and annotated by A. C. Scott. 165pp. 13 plates. University of Wisconsin Press. (American University Publishers Group.) £2 9s.

RICHARD F. S. YANG and CHARLES R. MEYER: *Fifty Songs from the Yuan*. 151pp. Allen and Unwin. 35s.

These volumes, between them, comprise a valuable collection of hitherto untranslated poetry and drama, but otherwise have little in common, separated by more than 1,000 years of turbulent history and by a gulf between the "literary" and the "popular" like that between a Middle English lyric and a Gilbert and Sullivan libretto. The *Anthology* is the first of a new series from the Oxford University Press, and makes an appropriate introductory volume, for it contains some of the finest poetry from the Han to the Sui dynasties (206 B.C.-618 A.D.), which though of outstanding intrinsic beauty and interest, is also indispensable as an introduction to the poetry of the Tang dynasty, the Golden Age of the Chinese lyric. In the centuries between Han and Tang, lively ballad-style poetry, often anonymous, flourished beside more sophisticated lyrics (examples of these styles from poets like Tao Ch'ien and Hsich Ling-yin are given in this book) and many stylistic innovations took place, particularly the introduction of tone patterns as a part of poetic form. From these elements the Tang poets derived both form, notably the eight-line regulated verse stanza, and frequently, content. Li Po, for instance, alludes repeatedly to Hsich Ling-yin, Wang Wei to T'ao Ch'ien. But this historical value is only an additional merit in these fresh and well-translated poems. They are not yet weighed down by the allusions which vitiate so much later Chinese poetry, but the scholarly notes accompanying them answer any questions which might be raised and even some that might not. (When a wife laments her husband's absence, do we need to be told why her bed seems empty? A useful biographical note introduces each new poet and there is an admirable general introduction which outlines the historical and literary background of the poems and deals in a balanced manner with the dependence of many of the poets on drugs or alcohol for escape from a real world of war, disorder and sudden death.

The volume of plays is also something of an escape from reality, this time into the gorgeous fairy-tales of the Peking Opera. For centuries the actor was an outcast; in China as elsewhere, and the play never became an acceptable literary form: these texts of two very popular operas which Mr. Scott has translated are working-scripts only and, as he says himself, have no literary pretensions. They are given with minute directions to the accompanying costumes, gestures and music, which soon, alas, may be all that is left of these once dazzling performances. Since 1949 the traditional plots were adapted or discarded, in mainland China, at the whim of the party line, and in 1965 they were banned entirely. Only new operas like *Mao Tse-tung Shays a Tiger* may now be shown and it is doubtful how the elaborate staging and long training required for the older plays will survive a long interruption even if they are, one day, revived. So we should be grateful for the blue-print that Mr. Scott has preserved for us here, though it is rather hard to see for what audience he intended it. The introduction deals in a brief but thorough way with traditions of acting, staging and orchestral accompaniment, but, deprived of their music and pageantry, the plays themselves seem insipid melodramas, the comedy merely embarrassing without its accompanying acrobatics. Yet an enterprising producer, for whom Mr. Scott's detailed instructions almost seem to be meant, will soon find himself damped by the insistence that nothing, even the folding of a head-dress, can be done without the help of skilled Chinese craftsmen, bred to their task.

*Fifty Songs from the Yuan* contains translations and texts of fifty *san ch'u*, the personal lyric form of the Yuan, or Mongol, dynasty (A.D. 1280-1368). The creation of this genre from the over-restrictive *ch'u* lyric of the Sung dynasty, in its turn, played a large part in the development of the vernacular drama, the most outstanding literary achievement of the Yuan. The *san ch'u*, though by no means unregulated, allowed some variation in the number of syllables to the line and, by admitting colloquial speech, freed the lyric of much of the dead metaphor and fossilized allusion which the classical "literary" language now contained. There was also no conventional limitation of subject-matter, and, in an age when Tartars held the highest positions, many frustrated Chinese officials turned to the lyric to express a variety of feelings which would have been unthinkable in a Confucian era. However, the greatest *san ch'u* writers were also playwrights, such as Ma Chih-yuan, who adapted the lyric style of the song interludes in his plays to the expression in *san ch'u* form of his

own escapist philosophy. Thus, the genre is intrinsically interesting and also claims the attention of the student of Japanese poetry for the influence it had on the development of the haiku. It has been until recently largely neglected, for Chinese scholars traditionally did not classify as "literature" anything with vernacular elements. The productions of alien dynasties were also regarded with some distaste, so that little Yuan poetry has been translated in the West.

Where so little is available, it seems almost improper to criticize a book which adds so much more. Yet the introduction is not very informative to the ordinary reader, though it contains some useful notes on symbolic conventions ("persons plucking lotus may have gastronomic as well as aesthetic motives"), and shows that the editors gave much thought to the principles of translation which they have adopted.

They produce a final, "poetic" translation, which stands with the Chinese text in the body of the book. This is misleading for anyone searching for correspondences between the two, because the demands of translating in the same number of syllables as the original poem, a method which the translators defend in their introduction, force them to exclude a large part of the sense. This final version is therefore considerably more condensed and inscrutable than the original.

The reader who wants to know what the Chinese poem says should read the "first draft", which, with a romanization of the text and a "word-by-word" translation, is provided at the back of the book. This is, perhaps, an over-scrupulous embarrassment of riches, but the end of the book also contains useful biographical information about the poets selected, and notes explaining names and allusions in the individual poems. These are unfortunately rather sparse, and leave the reader in doubt on many points, while the notes themselves are sometimes so allusive that they do not enlighten. The greatest disappointment of the book, however, lies in the selection of the poems themselves, which are, almost without exception, on the familiar lyric subjects of the passing of Time and the cooling of Love, and give no hint of the variety of themes, from the trivial or erotic to serious social criticism, which make the *san ch'u* so unusual.

# POEMS OF A CONFUCIAN GENTLEMAN

DAVID HAWKES: *A Little Primer of Tu Fu*. 243pp. Clarendon Press: Oxford University Press. £2 15s.

Up till now classical Chinese poetry was inaccessible to foreigners except through translations unless they had time to learn the language. Translations, as masterly as those of the late Arthur Waley can convey most of the literal meaning of a piece, but they inevitably provide non-equivalents for its form, sound and associations. With the help of this excellent introduction to the poetry of Tu Fu anybody prepared to make a little effort can go directly to the Chinese and appreciate for himself something of the style and flavour of a poet who, though a loyal member of the eighth-century ruling class, wrote an honest and so well that even some Cultural Revolutionaries must be assumed to love his work. Professor Hawkes's method is straightforward, sensible and thorough. He takes thirty-five of Tu Fu's poems and, for each of them, gives the text in characters and Pinyin, a brief introduction, an explanation of the form and structure, a word-for-word translation, a couplet-by-couplet commentary, and finally

prose. There is also a romanized vocabulary for the book as a whole. The pieces he has chosen from more than 1,000 that survive are those included in a standard eighteenth-century anthology of Tang poetry, and he explains in his introduction his practical reasons for doing so. This means that many current Tu Fu guides are omitted in favour of some which were thought more suitable for the brainwashing process of feudal education. The effect is to play down social criticism and to give an impression of the poet rather different from that which a young Chinese reader would have today. The poetry itself is difficult and rewarding. Tu Fu uses his words with a deliberate concentration that forces the reader to stop and think. Where the effect of more free-flowing verse (which he is built up like an incense burner) might be ruined by methodical explanation, Tu Fu is so rational, that the foundations of analysis and annotation. This makes him a most suitable choice for this kind of treatment, as he has no need of the success in defying the translator so far (Revel Alley, who has done best, somehow manages by writing a parallel poem in his own style).

What the selection does bring out is the political nature of Tu Fu's poetry: nearly all the pieces reflect to some extent the chaos as the illusory splendour of the Tang collapsed in a decade of civil war whose utter futility contrasts strongly with the revolutionary struggles racking China today. Part of the paradox of Tu Fu is that as an orthodox and decent Confucian gentleman who had fallen on hard times in a troubled age he expressed, rather conventionally, ideas in lines of moving dignity that could be appreciated by a high official in the past or by a young student today. Only in the twentieth century has he begun to date, and he shows no sign of fading. The difficulty of the poem means that when the beginner has worked through this fairly tough course he will be able to cope with easier poems for which less help is available, while those who, like him, are themselves on their experience can find plenty of useful assistance in this admirable textbook. But the real test of the book will be whether its efforts to show the general

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## Africa

# MANDATORY

By ROGER LOUIS: *Great Britain and Germany's Lost Colonies, 1914-1919*. 167pp. Clarendon Press: Oxford University Press. 30s.

"There are but three powers in Africa, England, France and Germany, two of which must inevitably combine against the third." Thus wrote the director of the colonial department at the Wilhelmstrasse in 1914. "Every time I come to a decision," commented Balfour in December, 1918, "I find there is a sphere which we have got to protect, which is supposed to protect the gateways of India. Those gateways are getting farther and farther from India."

The virtue of Mr. Louis's short but illuminating study is its setting of the fact that, far from ending in the 1890s, the scramble for colonies on the map broadened the scope only at the Paris peace talks of 1919. This book is the true epitaph of colonial acquisition. Founded on wide and judicious reading; dispassionate (barring one or two questionable conclusions); to the point of dislodging dug-in pundits from positions previously thought inviolable, it will quickly become a text for all those interested in the birth of Mandates and the later antics of the "Twenty Four".

When the First World War broke out France and Britain had barely shaken up their colonial quarrels, having from European disarray, Germany had stretched out her imperial trading tentacles not only to South West Africa but also deep into the Pacific south and north of the line. By 1916, all German colonies in East Africa had fallen to the Allies; in the Pacific, thanks to Australia, New Zealand, and Japanese action, a Africa itself as the result of campaigns involving French, Belgian, British, and South African forces. In mid-war the allies had considered themselves, first, that the German colonies, Cameroon, etc., were the spoils of war; second, that, for strategic reasons, no colony wrested from the foe should be restored to its former peace returned.

At this point allied opinion was divided. In Africa at least, had the imperial aims, Italy, Belgium, and Portugal were in the business for what pickings they could get. The British displayed the usual Queen Catherine-like virtues of "weeping and taking" simultaneously. President Wilson, *salus contra mundum*, wept but would not take. "Self-determination: no annexation" was his enigma and Mandates (A, B or C) his specific.

The horse-trading at Versailles, as the author well brings out, put all previous Berlin copings in the shade. For Hughes and Massey from the Antipodes it was a case of "What we have, we hold"; for the French an extension of previous holdings; for the British, an obsession with the Cape to Cairo route and an untrammelled passage to the jewel of India. Looking back over less than two generations' worth of history it is astonishing to review the bargaining: Britain ready to trade in The Gambia and even Ghana in return for St. Pierre and Miquelon and supremacy in the New Hebrides (shades of the Entente Cordiale); India to administer the "B" Mandate in East Africa (Curzon admittedly nearly went down with a stroke at this point); the Americans to administer Armenia, save that Lloyd George thought them too uncouth and clumsy and both Churchill and the Admiralty recoiled in horror at the idea of a United States Mediterranean Fleet.

Bamboozled though he was by the last clever manoeuvrings of the imperial camp—united at least against the self-determining outsider—Wilson had one final post-war laugh. His warnings about Japanese colonization paid off: too late for those who died at Pearl Harbour and Batuan, but in time to influence the second global curve-up.

One may query some of Mr. Louis's final assertions, such as Hitlerian indifference to regaining a foothold in Africa. But these are minor quibbles viewed against the value of this admirable analysis of Germany's brief colonial rise and fall.

# BLACK NEW WORLD

JEAN GANIAGE, HUBERT DESCHAMPS and ODETTE GUITARD: *L'Afrique au XXe siècle (1900-1965)*. 908pp. Paris: Sirey. 76 fr.

*L'Afrique au XXe siècle* is one of a series of volumes dealing with the history of the world in the twentieth century. It is encyclopedic in character, attempting to provide information about everything from the expansion of the sardine output to the fall of empires, and to cover the entire African continent (with the exception of Egypt, which appears in the Middle Eastern volume). The balance of the book seems odd to an English reader, since roughly the first 300 pages are given over to north Africa and the Sahara (the section for which Professor Ganiage is mainly responsible); the next 200 pages (Professor Deschamps's section) are concerned with western, central and north-eastern Africa; and the last 350 pages (contributed by Mlle. Guitard) deal with southern and eastern Africa. One effect of this allocation of space is that the history of the Maghrib receives much fuller and more thorough treatment than the history of west Africa, the Congo or the Sudan. In quantitative terms the Sudan is dismissed in a bare eight pages while Algeria has more than eighty. While there are, of course, strong arguments in favour of giving careful and detailed consideration to the history of the Algerian revolution and its predisposing causes, it is impossible to justify the sketchy, slapdash, Africa-shown-in-the-children-kind-of approach that makes it possible to describe the role of the Intelligentsia in the Sudanese national movement in the following terms:

"L'enseignement amena le développement d'une classe d'évolués, les *effendi* (les *meilleurs*); ce sont eux qui ont pris le pouvoir. Reliés à la fois aux courants musulmans et aux tendances occidentales, ils ont suivi une voie intermédiaire de style européen et conservent en privé des habitudes orientales. On les trouve essentiellement dans les villes; certains d'entre eux, chômeurs ou faiblement payés, constituent un prolétariat intellectuel secrètement communiste..."

Sudanese intellectuals are presented as though they were some interesting kind of beetle or hermit-crab. This work indeed suffers from most of the weaknesses of encyclopedic histories, which tend to reduce all classes of facts to the same dead level of importance and unimportance. Much of it is unreadable: *Abidjan* est peuplée de 45,000 à 250,000 habitants. Le cordon littoral a été coupé; le port en lagune, inauguré en 1931, est sans cesse perfectionné; il y a une 1,500m. de quai en eau profonde, des quais de bûches, des quais de bois, un port de pêche...

Major historical events—the founding of the Rassemblement Démocratique Africain in 1946, Guinea's "No" vote in the Referendum of 1958, the break-up of the Mali Federation in 1960, the post-Independence crisis in the Congo, the split between Kasavubu and Lumumba and the whole course of events leading to Lumumba's assassination—are described in the same brief and bare terms as the building of a banana quay or a pipeline, with little attempt to relate them to their historical context, to explain why things turned out in this way and not otherwise. Many of the old, inaccurate generalizations are reproduced: for example, the statement that in west Africa in 1900 "l'économie de subsistance règne à peu près partout, sauf dans quelques régions côtières... Chaque communauté familiale ou villageoise produit ce qui lui est nécessaire... et n'échange à peu près rien, à part le sel et les coques...". This is a very odd way of referring to the local and long-distance trade of the western Sudan in the late pre-colonial period. Similarly, as regards the pre-colonial literature of west Africa, we are told that "il existait peu d'oeuvres écrites en arabe ou en peul (transcrit en caractères arabes)..." Here Professor Deschamps seems to ignore entirely the research of the past fifteen years, which has begun to give some idea of the range and character of the indigenous written literature of the nineteenth century, both prose and poetry, above all in Arabic, but also in Hausa, Malinke, Kanuri, Nupe, Yoruba, and several other west African languages (in Arabic script) in addition to Fulfulde. And there are some quite new inaccuracies, often of a relatively minor kind: when, for example, we learn that the C.P.P. in Ghana was "decimated by purges" (la droite (Gbedemab) a été éliminée en 1961), l'extrême gauche communiste (Ako-Adje) en 1962". In Gbedemab's case the label might be roughly appropriate, but that unhappy character, the former Foreign Minister of Ghana, was about as recognizable a representative of "l'extrême gauche communiste" as Mr. Dean Rusk or Mr. George Brown.

It seems strange, seeing that the book is dedicated to Professor Charles André Julien "qui découvrira l'histoire de l'Afrique", that it does not itself show more clear signs of "decolonization", as regards presupposition, content or approach. This does not mean, however, that it is worthless. On less familiar topics especially, such as the liberation movements in the Portuguese territories, it is a useful work of reference. It does bring together, as the saying goes, a mass of information, not previously found between the covers of a single work. But was it worth while assembling this particular body of information, with so little in the way of historical understanding and explanation to hold it together and give it meaning? This is doubtful.

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**M. Hoare: Congo Mercenary**. 318pp. Robert Hale. 35s.  
Mercenary is a dirty word among African nationalists. The employment of mercenaries by Mr. Tshombe, first in secessionist Katanga, later as Prime Minister of the Congo, was one of the main actions held against him by his many enemies. Colonel Mike Hoare commanded a mercenary unit in Katanga, and returned to the Congo, colours in July, 1964, at Mr. Tshombe's request. This is the crisply written account of his campaigns with the A.N.C. (Congolese national army). He emerges from these pages as essentially the man of action, never so happy as when he is dashing through the bush in command of his force of tough adventure-seeking men. Inevitably, the style he adopts is rather Boswain-Pantherish. He sees things in simple (in another context one might say black and white) terms, and with old-fashioned publishing values.

# GONE BUSH

M. Hoare: *Congo Mercenary*. 318pp. Robert Hale. 35s.

use of mercenaries, and to conclude that Colonel Hoare, with his conviction that his fight was fundamentally against communism, is an unsophisticated political commentator. To a surprising extent, however, his book shows him to be a man of sincere conviction, determined to ensure that his men acquitted themselves honourably as well as efficiently. He came to the Congo as an idealist, odd though that idea may seem to many people, and in selecting his recruits, he was at pains to turn away the freaks and to take only the healthily normal.

Furthermore, in spite of his South African background, he proves himself racially colour blind. He is, for instance, unobtrusive in his praise of President Mobutu and in his respect for Mr. Tshombe. He obviously enjoyed cordial relations with many officers of the A.N.C. Obviously this is a partial account of the mercenary issue, but one does not have the feeling that it is written as a piece of

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fundamental difference between the French and British police systems lies in their relationship to government. Since the Dark Ages

The French police are, of course, popular, literally speaking, in that they are seen as officials of the state and when party feeling runs high, officials of the party in power! The gendarme is a soldier, the civilian policeman is virtually a civil servant, the state enters much more consciously into the enforcement of the criminal law than does government in this country. The judges, the prosecuting counsel and the magistrates who hold up the criminal case are the trial are all civil servants. They have not reached their appointment by way of private practice in the courts. Even in the investigation of crime a judge directs the police detectives transact in the prosecution is in France transacted outside of the *juge d'instruction*. Criminal procedure is still in many respects of the inquisitorial character that obtained under the ancien régime.

The Revolution brought forth Pouche, whose part in the evolution of national police is given its due importance by M. Roumain. Ruse and incision were only aspects of that complex and gifted statesman, whose genius expressed itself most charismatically in the new system of internal order. Pouche saw police as one great business, to be carried on under a clear direction, with the Parisian police as a unit in a system which maintained the gendarmerie and the municipal police of the provinces. There was to be a Prefect of Police (the capital and the departmental prefects would have oversight of the local police forces. The police chief was also of prime intelligence value, the source that miscellaneous information which when tested and synthesized gave an objective assessment of public opinion and morale, was a powerful factor in running an empire. (The publication of Pouche's daily bulletins to Poule was completed in 1964 by the fifth volume in the series begun in the late 18th century.) Pouche is associated with systematic espionage, but there was nothing new in that—the Ancien Régime had such experts as d'Argenson and de Sartines; he merely used it more efficiently and more discreetly than anyone else. The police spy has always been an Anglo-Saxon nightmare. The French are used to torturing Pouche's tenure of office, too, reproduced the Code d'Instruction criminelle of 1808, which governed trial procedures and was the model of *juge d'instruction* and the active alike until its replacement in 1958 by the Code de Procédure pénale, which departs from very few of its predecessor's principles.

tivo, logical, and easy to understand. A particularly valuable feature lies in the compilers' refusal to be over-cautious. In definition, the allowance is made for shades of meaning, for frankly other-wise iridescent usage. . . . It is greatly to be hoped that this German example will inspire, in this country, a call for a new Shakespearean lexicon on similar lines."

So schrieb Times Literary Supplement am 22. Juni 1967 über das

# "Goethe-Wörterbuch"

Herausgegeben von der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Geisteswissenschaften in Göttingen und der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften. Bearbeitet unter der wissenschaftlichen Leitung von Werner Hantke, Wolfgang Schade-Waldt, Werner Simon und Wilhelm Wissmann.

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For more than standard police revised or brou W. I. Melville *Police in England* writers have l seriously, notably *The British Police* Charles Keith, (1938) and other modern contribut be found in the published of Pro *History of Eng (1948-56)* with the policing of leeneth and early Mr. Critchley's b the main historic time. His servi partment of the secretary of the sion on the po unique insights his admirably cl makes it a ple analysis.

His treatment limited in scope: of police history sure of a senior cluded a more c and Mr. Critchle to deal with tho his theme on wh formed. The res the growth of t situation in the government. The major undertaki of this size it wise to attempt the kind of task might have deve still have produ

half a century. The history (never, alas, kept up to date) was Lee's *A History of* (1901). More recent tackled the subject was Mrs. J. M. Hart, in (1951) and the late *The Police Idea* books; the greatest history, however, is to three volumes so far by Professor Radzinowicz, *The English Criminal Law*, which shed much light on London in the eighteenth centuries. Book looks like being a manual for a long time in the police de- Home Office and, as last Royal Commis- has given him into his subject and ear and fluent style aware to follow his

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Wales; Scotland doubt as needing view of its differ- the two police have evolved. The book goes far to understand this today. This is times when so much in organization are in progress and civil measures are

Antiquarians w perhaps, to find the before 1830 is de- sixty pages (and ably have been s- cursors whose Metropolitan police possible). The simplifying here to minor mis- the crowded later period. the decision to the book to them, of the subject are The provincial p- ampler treatment had before, and police get less sp- tional story merits by the attention. ceived from writ- book is concerned century and the Critchley has en- enabled him to the book's develop- which is the even and assorted country into the service of today.

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No. 22 VIKING AND ANGLIAN YORK, by Anthony Cross, to be published January, 1968.  
Complete catalogue available on request

**Linguistics**

**BY ANY OTHER NAME**

W. O. HASSALL: *History through Surnames*. 224pp. Pergamon Press, 25s.  
C. M. MATTHEWS: *English Surnames*. 359pp. Weidenfeld and Nicolson, £2 2s.  
P. H. REANEY: *The Origin of English Surnames*. 415pp. Routledge and Kegan Paul, £2 10s.  
D. ELLIS EVANS: *Gaulish Personal Names*. 492pp. Clarendon Press: Oxford University Press, £7 7s.

Surnames came into existence to satisfy a palpable need—that of secondary (soon to become primary) identification when there were too many Johns and Thomases and Anns and Marys about. It was a need that certain communities were slow to recognize—Ireland, for instance. In 1465, Edward IV decreed that every Irishman should

take to him an English surname, of one town as Sutton, Chester, Trym, Skryne, Cork, Kinsale, or colour, as white, black, brown; or art or science, as smith or carpenter, or office, as cook, butler, and that he and his issue shall use this name.

What had to become a matter of conscious imposition for the wild Irish had been instinctive with the English for a long time. So instinctive, in fact, that nobody had yet thought much about the nomenclature categories. An Irishman could be Brown or Green but, apparently, not Strongtharm or Short. And where are the patronymics?

They were probably there already—O'Neill and MacFergus and the rest—but, if they were adjudged inadequate as identifiers of the Irish, they were, and still are, among the most powerful surnames in England. A patronymic is good enough for a Prime Minister, if not for a Russian commissar. Ivan Ivanovich and Anya Ivanovna are insufficient: you have to have nicknames (like Tolstoy—"thick"—and Molotov—"hammer") as well. The situation is the same in Wales, where a plethora of Joneses has led to certain uninheritable additions—Jones Science, Jones Black Lion, Jones Number Three, Jones Seaview, Jones Badger.

The fascination of the surnames of England derives from the fact that they go back so far, fossilizing dead trades and places long silted over. Moreover, the names undergo phonological change or are corrupted by folk etymology. It is the task of the minor science of onomastics or onomatology to clarify origins. The true value of such studies as those of Mrs. Matthews and Mr. Reaney and Mr. Hassall (the last of these is the most "popular") lies in what they can tell us about surnames extant and, to the linguistically uninitiated, puzzling.

A literary periodical must naturally first inquire about the origin of literary names. *Amis*, for instance, Mr. Reaney says: "*Amis* was used as a pet-form of *Amis* or *Amles*, for *Amis* de Wudestoch is identical with *Amis* de Wudestoke." Splendid, but tell us more about *Amis*. Mr. Hassall? There is no *Amis* in the index. Mrs. Matthews? Her fifth Appendix derives *Amis* from *Amicia*, along with *Ames*, *Amles*, *Amson* and *Amy*. It is a metonymy, then: the first *Amis* had a mother

called *Amicia*. And now to *Murdock*. Nothing in Mr. Reaney's index, nor in Mrs. Matthews's. Mr. Hassall gives us both *Murdock* and *Murdock-Gaelic* (or Old Irish) for "mariner." While we are on women novelists, let us try *Spark*. Mr. Reaney has a mild go at both *Weekley* and *Bardsley*, who both thought that *Spark* was a contraction of *Sparrowhawk*, "but it is found as *Sper* in Lincolnshire as early as 1202 and is clearly a nickname from Old Norse *sparkr* 'lively, sprightly'." Mrs. Matthews, who has clearly not yet been able to read Mr. Reaney's book, accepts the *Sparrowhawk* etymology, putting *Sparhawk* (name of the Abbot of Abingdon, who became Bishop of London in 1050) as an intermediate contraction. Mr. Hassall says nothing.

Now we know all about it: it is metaphorical. Nor need names like *Powell* and *Wilson* (Colin or Angus, according to taste) be looked up. They are both common patronymics (the first Welsh: *ap Howell*, *Durrell*? Nothing in Mr. Hassall or Mrs. Matthews. Nor, disappointingly, in Mr. Reaney, whose *Dictionary of British Surnames* may, however, one supposes, be consulted. We may do better with the great dead. *Joyce*, says Mrs. Matthews, is made from the woman's name, ultimately *Jocosa*—a classic metonymy. Mr. Reaney gives us (and this is the thing to watch out for in onomastological inquiries) two possible derivations: the metonymic above, and the patronymic *Jaloc*, name of a Breton saint: "already in the twelfth century, the same man could be called either *Gosse* or *Joc*." There seems to be nothing about this in *Finnegans Wake*.

There is no *Wangh*, however disguised, in any of these books. There is, of course, no reason why there should be: onomatologists are not obliged to consult the special concerns of the literary. *James* and *Forster* cause no trouble (a patronymic the one, a trade-name the other: foresters "policed the great royal forests enforcing the king's cruel laws that excluded the English from their own traditional hunting grounds", says, with indignation, Mrs. Matthews). There is no *Hemingway* anywhere, though Mr. Reaney gives the Yorkshire place-name *Hemingborough*. *Faulkner*, the falconer, we know already. With names like *Bellow*, *Saroyan*, *Malinad*, we enter a less parochial world. Note, though, that *Sallinger* is *St. Leger*. The fascination of this game, along with its attendant frustrations, need not be demonstrated much further. All that is needed now is an indication of how surnames interesting in themselves,

quite apart from the illustriousness of their possessors, are treated by these three scholars, only Mr. Hassall, incidentally, revisits the temptation to say something about his own name. *Higginbottom* and *Shuffbottom*, two fine specimens from Lancashire, come respectively from Oakenbottom, in Bolton-le-Moors (a great possessor was Alexander de Akinbottom), and Shipperbottom in Bury (the full force of the names comes out in *de Schyppevallebottom*—"the valley with a stream where sheep were washed"); Mr. Reaney is good and full on these. Mrs. Matthews sheds light on *Lillcrap*. What looks like an oxymoron relates to either a crop or a flowering of lilies. *Cholmondeley*, Reaney says, was originally *Ceolmundesleah*—"the wood of an Anglo-Saxon named Ceolmund".

All these three painstaking and often charming studies may be recommended. Mr. Hassall's has, with its comparative brevity and its glossy illustrations, the most appeal for the merely casual inquirer; Mr. Reaney's and Mrs. Matthews's are fuller—indeed, more nearly exhaustive than that specialist literary quiz would seem to show. Mr. Reaney often explores etymologies accepted by Mrs. Matthews, but this whole question of ultimate origins tends to be misty, especially when the firm referent of a saint, a landmark, or a town or village has ceased to be firm. Curiosity is satisfied and ancient life revived.

*Gaulish Personal Names* has a specialist though highly fascinating aim—to list the specimens of Continental Celtic anthroponyms found in the inscriptions of Ancient Gaul, the *Commentaries* on the *Gallie War*, and the graffiti of La Graufesenque, and to elucidate the linguistic problems raised by them. All readers of the Roman chronicles have come across names which thrust out from the Latin prose like weapons or warcries: here one may learn their structure and meaning. *Vergine-torix*, for instance. Mr. Ellis Evans lists all the variants of the form, and the list is a long one. The meaning comes out as "a great king (leader) of heroes (warriors)". The name was possibly known in Ireland in the form *Ferchelling* or *ri*, abbreviated to *Ferchell*—a form perhaps more deserving of *Florus's nomine etiam* than that used by the Arvernian who led the Gauls against Caesar. But that is so much fancy. Ellis Evans's scholarship is not concerned with the *Romans* response to outlandish sounds, only with the uncovering of their semantic and morphological significance. That scholarship is very formidable.

**TALKING INDO-EUROPEAN**

VLADIMIR I. GEORGIEV: *Introduzione alla storia delle lingue indoeuropee*. 477pp. Rome: Edizioni dell'Ateneo.

In this attractive quarto volume Professor Vladimir Georgiev brings us to date and extends a course of lectures he gave at Moscow in 1956. It is a most useful book because it summarizes the latest views on the genesis of the Indo-European languages, including the interpretation of Linear B tablets and the geography of the prehistoric tongues of Anatolia or Asia Minor. The author accepts the well-argued proposition of B. Laroche that Lybia was related to Luwian and Hittite. Since the Hittites were of Anatolian provenance, he holds that their language was basically Indo-European. New data, he claims, now justify the dating of the evolution of separate languages even earlier than Antoine Meillet would allow. Indeed, Professor Georgiev comes near to accepting that "old" conjectures made by Henry Sweet at the turn of the century when he put Proto-Indo-European as far back as 10,000 B.C. Only this, early, said Sweet, could one see with maintenance in an undivided whole. "Undivided" in the sense that all Aryan

speakers were still able to understand each other with perfect ease."

Professor Georgiev gives a clear picture of the Indo-European world of 6,000 B.C. when linguistic differentiation was already, in his view, well advanced. It was still a small world reaching from the Baltic to the Aegean (including only western Anatolia) and from the Rhine to the Visula. Already that world was divided linguistically into six definable groups: Germanic, Balto-Slavic and Tocharian between Oder and Vistula; Celtic, Italic, Venetic, Illyrian and Messapic on the Upper Danube; Greek-Macedonian, Phrygian and Armenian in present-day Yugoslavia; Dacian, Mysian, Albanian and Indo-Iranian in present-day Romania, Thrace and Pelasgia; present-day Greek; and, finally, Hittite, Etruscan, Lydian, Luwian, Lycian and Carian in Asia Minor. It is in the elucidation of this fifth group that the most startling advances have been made during the past thirty years or so, but many problems remain intractable. Professor Georgiev is fully aware of the difficulties. How can one, really, fix a language like Mysian into

the picture when its entire extant corpus consists of one five-line inscription? Is one held hypothesis that Etruscan was distantly related to Basque and possibly akin to Sumerian, the earliest recorded language on earth? Professor Georgiev presents the evidence and, if he oversimplifies, he does so from fullness of knowledge in order to facilitate the next advance. For instance, he assigns primitive Etruscan plainly and simply to Anatolia, he does so to evoke challenges from the pundits. In fact Professor Giuliano Bonfante took this particular challenge some years ago at the Ninth International Congress of Linguists (Cambridge, Mass., 1962). In the end Professor Bonfante had to concede that the speech of ancient Etruria may now be regarded as "a distant relative of Indo-European, a third cousin, let us say."

This book is of great value because it makes the mature deliberations of a distinguished Bulgarian scholar available for the first time, in a close and accurate translation, to archaeologists and linguists who do not read

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The poet Ernst Weiss, esteemed highly by Thomas Mann and Franz Kafka, was unjustly neglected for a long time.

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**CYPRIOGRAPHY**

HAZEL THURSTON: *The Traveller's Guide to Cyprus*. 268pp. Photographs by Guy Gravett. Cape. 30s.

It is difficult to see how this could be better done. The book is precisely the right size for fitting into a pocket and yet it has a hard cover which will stand up to such treatment and is printed in a type font which is large enough to be easily legible in a jolting country bus. The layout is exemplary. After preliminary information on climate, communications, accommodation and currency the bulk of the book is divided into chapters based on the principal towns. Each has its own description followed by itineraries which cover the main sights of the surrounding country. The map on the end papers is perhaps the best map of Cyprus in existence, certainly the best for its size. The sketch plans of cities, unlike most specimens of this half-breed race, could actually be used by persons who wanted to stroll around Nicosia or Famagusta without missing anything of interest. As for the plan of St. Hilarion castle, anyone who is acquainted with that improbably romantic and intricate construction can only marvel at seeing it laid out on a flat piece of paper.

Admittedly Miss Thurston has had an easier task than some writers of guide books: Cyprus is more readily susceptible of concise treatment than, say, Italy. Nevertheless, though small in geographical compass, the span of its historical and aesthetic interest is wide. There is the neolithic and the bronze age to deal with; there is above all the period round about 700 B.C. when Cyprus enjoyed its finest hour as a subject province of Assyria and the kings of Salamis were buried with a wealth of silver and north Syrian ivories and slaughtered chariot horses in the gilt-bronze bravery of their trappings. Perhaps even more attractive to the modern sensitive traveller is the period reminiscent of Edward Lear's water-colours or romantic style engravings in Victorian travel books: the old Levant where the minaret and the gothic arch mouldered together behind Venetian ravellins. Only in Cyprus are there still such scenes as would have pleased both Byron and Flecker.

Miss Thurston is learned enough

for all practical purposes, but she does not overdo it. One sentence may perhaps particularly commend the book to the traveller who knows what he doesn't want: "The remains of very early civilizations are sometimes of limited interest to the average sightseer because too much is demanded in the way of background specialist knowledge and there is not always a great deal for the untrained eye to see." Nevertheless, she goes on, it is worth visiting Khirókita; and so it is, even though it does date from the sixth millennium B.C. Turn the page, and she is giving just the information needed about the difficulties to be met in visiting St. Hilarion because it is at present being used as a principal stronghold in the defence of the main Turkish enclave. Miss Thurston cannot be faulted on history or topography; but she has been misinformed about the etymology of asbestos, has misprinted two dates and has two errors in her list of useful expressions—with admirable impartiality one in a Greek and one in a Turkish word.

**RETURN JOURNEY**

COREY FORD: *Where the Sea Breaks Its Back*. 206pp. Gollancz. 30s.

Research is now too loosely applied to any preliminary work that goes to the making of a book, but it is strenuously applicable to the background of Mr. Ford's study of Vitus Bering's voyage of discovery of Novaya Zembla (later known as Alaska) in 1741. Two hundred years later it chanced that Mr. Ford, who is himself a naturalist, voyaged through the Aleutian Islands "where the sea breaks its back", carrying with him an edition of *Bering's Voyages* by F. A. Golder, who extracted the journal of one Georg Wilhelm Steller from the Russian archives and printed it in *extenso* for the first time. Mr. Ford was thus able to follow roughly in the track of Bering's return journey through the fog and storm of the Aleutians; he could watch the ruin of the expedition through the arrogant eyes and corrosive pen of the young German who had rushed across Siberia from the St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences to intercept Bering before he sailed from Kamchatka.

There he found an old man broken in mind and body by the muddle and megalomania of ten years of preparation for a voyage of discovery

which was to extend the Muscovite empire eastward across the unmapped North Pacific. He would not take no for an answer, and so the expedition which was manned by a rather turbulent crew of Russian naval officers and scientists sailed under the disdainful eye of a young nobody who always knew he was right, and nearly always was right, but antagonized everyone by the lofty arrogance of his manner and the blitter edge of his tongue. When they made a late landfall in the Mount Elias area, Bering, who was at the end of his tether, would allow them only ten hours of exploration before he gave them Steller's stigmatized as a pusillanimous order to return with all speed instead of wintering where they were to gather some small fruits of discovery.

Their outward journey had been well below the great Aleutian arc. Now, deciding to return further north, with winter advancing upon a scurvy-ridden crew, they were beaten and broken in the turbulent weather of the long chain of uncharted islands. In the fox caves of Bering

Island, where the commander died with many of his crew, the fruits of the expedition were gathered by Steller while he forgot himself in tending the sick. His studies of the now extinct sea cow, the hair seal and the sea otter are acknowledged to be the work of a great naturalist. But he cut his work short by reverting to his contemptuous isolation when he reached Kamchatka again, and soon after died an alcoholic death.

Mr. Ford's book is written as a contribution to American history, but is notable as a perceptive study of a young man who too early destroyed a great talent in the grip of a neurosis. Steller's personal fate is reflected with bitter irony in Mr. Ford's concluding sketch of what happened after the expedition. The Russians discovered Alaska, but made little or nothing of it during their years of occupation. What they did in the following century was to massacre to the point of extinction most of the animals of the region whose habits Steller had, with such loving mastery observed, and recorded.

**LOG BOUND**

HAMMOND INNES: *Sea and Islands*. 288pp. Collins. 36s.

The forecast gave sea area Fisher as west force 8, veering north-west 4-5. At ten the barometer was down to 989, but the direction of the cloud rack flying overhead had shifted. North-west now. We weighed up three rolls in the main locker, one suspects, there is a well-thumbed set of Conrad. But from this point he seems to be transcribing much of his material, with only personal reworking (diary insertions about hotels and tourist trips, post-colour scenic descriptions) from the *Journal of the Royal Cruising Club*. The result reads, for long stretches, like the letters home of some holiday-making businessman: intelligent, cheerful, observant, but totally unselective and totally undisciplined. From Mr. Innes one has come to expect rather more than this. All the same, the book remains an *alla portada* of interesting material. Mr. Innes never lets the reader forget how different, say, Norway or Greece looks from the sailor's perspective. The geographical traverse is exceptionally wide, from Addu Atoll to the Western Isles, from Denmark to the Golden Horn. There is a glimpse of the treasure-hunting on the Coes Islands, and an interview with President Tito in Yugoslavia, who would seem to be judging from internal evidence of any disaster on deck to look at a have made sure that this visiting British was given enough publicity material to construct a whole chapter out of it. Mr. Innes and his

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## Bibliography

# A DIRECTION FOR BIBLIOGRAPHY

W. W. GREG: *Collected Papers*. Edited by J. C. Maxwell. 449pp. Clarendon Press: Oxford University Press. £3 15s.

In 1958, a year before his death, Sir Walter Greg chose thirty-seven of his learned-journal articles and notes to be published as *Collected Papers*, and revised most of them for the press. After passing through the hands of the late F. P. Wilson, these papers have now been edited by Professor J. C. Maxwell, whose own slightly variant selection is defended in the preface. Ten of Greg's original choices have been dropped and three longer ones added that had not originally been contemplated for publication.

The new selection, like the editorial work in general, has been performed with intelligence and discretion. The omitted pieces are chiefly small notes in which the vital information has long since become a part of standard reference works. The only omitted papers that might be queried are the three *Modern Language Review* articles on *Hamlet*. But the fact that Greg had not revised these, though retaining them on his list, suggests that Professor Maxwell was advised to leave out these pieces which, though part of an historic controversy, perhaps do not merit republication on their own. They do indeed represent Greg's blind side when the daring of a logically pursued but highly speculative critical argument obscured his usual fine discrimination between fact and fantasy.

To replace the omissions, the editor has selected "The Function of Bibliography in Literary Criticism" illustrated in a study of the text of *King Lear*, which he accurately calls one of Greg's most notable writings. This 1933 statement of the contribution that textual bibliography can make to aesthetic and exegetical criticism was a landmark in its day for its enunciation of principles as well as its illustration of methods, and it remains a monument at the present time. Why Greg did not himself plan to include it is hard to imagine unless he came to feel that the textual situation of *King Lear* was considerably more complex than seemed evident in 1933. Certainly, in later life he grew increasingly doubtful of the unqualified "bad" origins of the First Quarto as a fully reported text, a view that is the guiding intelligence of the 1933 investigation. None the less, as an examination of the logical alternatives in a textual case that has not advanced appreciably toward solution since Greg's article, and especially as an illustration of the principles that move logical bibliographical inquiry, this piece had the highest priority for inclusion.

Correspondingly, "Time, Place, and Politics in *King Lear*", the second replacement, serves to buttress the non-bibliographical selections and is a more than suitable substitute for the *Hamlet* pieces. There is much that is shrewd in Greg's painstaking lifting of the sometimes illogical evidence, although the end result may be more valuable for the exposure of the simple facts about the dislocations of time than for the critical conclusions drawn from the evidence, which are in part strained. The third added piece, "The Escapes of Jig" dating from 1925, shows Greg at his powerful best in the analysis of textual evidence. After a brief explication of the reasons for assigning the manuscript as Heywood's autograph, Greg proceeds to an equally elegant display of textual and critical logic to demonstrate that the forger of the Golden and Silver Ages plays. The exhibition of scholarly argument would have been missed, and it is only partly smudged by a speculative ending that lends a note of tentativeness to what had earlier been an authoritative discourse.

The remaining twenty-seven articles cover a wide range. In the crucial area that is the 1946 "The Damnation of Faust" which roots the sentimentalism by putting its finger-lingeringly on the Helen episode as the one that upsets the balance between damnation and the possibility of salvation and brings on the then inevitable ending. Theatrical Greg's attention is represented by several notes. His critical criticism is better exemplified, however, by the several articles in which his com-

mand of the interpretation of Stationers' Register complexities is brought to bear on particular problems, the most notable being perhaps "The Spanish Tragedy—A Leading Case?" His palaeographical skill (a department of scholarship in which he was deeply learned) is illustrated by the singularly useful addendum to the *Sir Thomas More* question in "Shakespeare's Hand Once More" and by the authentication against the charge of Collier forgeries of "Three Manuscript Notes by Sir George Buc". Theatrical and printers' history join in the characteristically scrupulous examination of evidence in "The Bakings of Betsy": here an investigation, in the best detective fiction manner of which Scotland Yard would be proud, casts serious doubts on the claims of Warburton's list of manuscript plays. The title has since passed into the language.

One of Greg's most striking characteristics as a scholar was that in the end his technical skill, as for example in palaeography, was always placed at the service of textual and other forms of criticism. In the 1923 "An English Printer and his Copy", after an analysis of the physical features of Harrington's manuscript of the Ariosto translation that served as printer's copy for Field's edition of 1591, he carefully points out: "It may be thought that so far I have been dealing with points of mere antiquarian curiosity. Certainly if this were all we could learn from the manuscript, it could hardly claim the singular importance I have ascribed to it. Its real value, however, for bibliographical criticism, lies in the opportunity it affords for observing how far an Elizabethan compositor followed his copy in the matter of spelling, punctuation, and the like." Then he is off on a pioneering evaluation. Similarly, his two valuable articles on Massinger's autograph corrections in a series of play quartos have still not been exhausted for the insight they offer into the relation of Elizabethan printers to their copy. Although "A Question of Plus or Minus" occupied only five pages in its journal appearance, its application of evidence from the manuscript of Fletcher's *Honest Man's Fortune* to the question of textual disruption in printed plays as the result of additions or of exclusions is a splendid example of evidence versus, in Greg's phrase used in another connexion, "metacriticism" or purely speculative theorizing on an unformed basis.

The application of technical skill to interpretation is raised to another power in "A Formula of Collation" in 1934, an example of Greg's ability, in quite a different direction, to generalize into abstract principles the common evidence of factual investigation. His most brilliant and permanent contribution to descriptive bibliography lies here in his formulation—resulting from the problems encountered in the preparation of his *Bibliography of the English Printed Drama to the Restoration*—of a subtle, accurate, and logical method of describing the physical make-up of a book. The formula, whether invented or refined, has stood the test of time. In any history of bibliography it must receive its due as an example of creative scholarship of near-perfect proportions. It is impossible to think of any other scholar who single-handedly could have performed this feat of shaping a method to the requirements of physical evidence in such a remarkably pure and comprehensive manner.

"The Bibliography" that followed his contribution to "bibliographical studies" surpassing even his textual forays into Marlowe and Jonson, as well as his compendious work on the Shakespeare, First Folio, in the *Collected Papers*, however, illustrates still another facet of his singular talent that has perhaps had as much influence on the several generations that have succeeded him as his in the *Bibliography*. This is his point in the development of bibliography that he had to summarize his achievements and to shape the

future by an explanation of its position as a science addressed to the bibliographers themselves as well as to a wider audience.

In a series of papers read before the Bibliographical Society Greg mapped with confidence the rationale for the future of the rapidly developing discipline. In 1912 in "What is Bibliography?" he argued tellingly that "it is only by the application of a rigorous bibliographical method that the last drop of information can be squeezed out of a literary document". In 1930 in "The Present State of Bibliography" he carried the discussion farther with a frankly propagandistic plea for the literary application of bibliography that rose to the eloquence of an article of faith. In 1932 his promised sequel, "Bibliography—an Apologia" joined textual criticism specifically to bibliography as a united discipline, a forecast no doubt of his 1933 *Neophilologus* "Function of Bibliography in Literary Criticism" and its study of the text of *King Lear* so wisely rescued for collection by the editor.

Appropriately, his last theoretical article on textual criticism, the influential "Rationale of Copy-Text" of 1949, capped this series by a reversal of a whole school of editorial theory. The most perspicacious distinction between the two authorities present in a text, that of the words, and the "substantives" or the words themselves, he drew ultimately from McKerrow, but McKerrow had not succeeded in thinking through the implications of this distinction and coming to terms with the radical concepts to which it led. McKerrow, then, in his *Prolegomena*, was about to set editing on an excessively conservative path. Greg's initial approach changed to doubt, and in breaking through into the daylight of the "Rationale" he formulated what is now the keystone of advanced editorial theory.

It was appropriate that the argument for the literary application of bibliography in the preceding four papers should have flowered into this influential editorial study, for if bibliography as a discipline is now accepted in the universities as a familiar mode of investigation (a fact that he forecast with satisfaction as early as 1912 in the proposals for a university lecture series contained in "What is Bibliography?"), it is very largely owing to the changed climate of opinion fostered by Greg's urging and by the effect of McKerrow's *Introduction to Bibliography for Literary Students*. Greg was a powerful spokesman for the modern trend in bibliography that has forsaken compilation to involve itself actively in literary study. Again, as early as 1912 he was to write, "My complaint is that, all through, bibliography is studied and taught—so far as it is taught—too much from the point of view of the catalogue or descriptive bibliographer, not enough for the interest of the principles involved, and that as a consequence those

wider applications of the subject lie beyond the catalogue's horizon."

In 1930 he wrote: "The membership has increased amazingly and has come to include a number of professors of literature, many of whom are not only not ignorant of English literature, but at least of these have not been disappointed. . . . What I feel was in it is a sense of direction, an investigation that the various bibliographies are somehow related to a common end. . . . The new discovery, which I have tried to put into words by saying that bibliography is concerned with the mission of literary documents, has been made, and it is going to be progressively the relations of bibliography with literary and historical study." His influence was as much by example as by precept, but even his major policy-shaping papers (which proselytizing bibliographers are still repeating in essence) it is possible that the present day would hold its position of strength in academia with less certainty and conviction.

Greg's style was as lucid and logically powerful as his thought. Mr. Maxwell speaks of the firmness and self-assurance of his exhortations, early work and remarks his sense of delight in contemplation. Greg at the age of twenty-five, in review, "feeling no need to come his justified sense of intellectual superiority." This intellectual wit that informs his best work has never stooped to arrogance. He had no patience with sloppy thinking or simple stupidity. He could be blunt as a critic and his language could be correspondingly plain and even salty. (The editor remarks, at least two remarks which were deemed unsuitable for printing in the chaste pages of *The Library*.) On the other hand, his courtesy to scholars was often very finely expressed. It is clear that he respected Pollard and McKerrow, admired McKerrow.

These *Collected Papers* are valuable in the extreme for bringing together the best of Greg's essential work, which would otherwise have been scattered through the last of a ephemeral pages of learned journals, and making it available as a single paper succeeds paper, what with the picture of a dedicated intellect bearing on the solution of practical problems, often with the fascination of true detective for its intellectual problems. But above this, as in 1912 and 1930 addressed to the 1932 "Apologia", one is able to follow the course of Greg's probing discovery, his intellectual problem beyond the immediate satisfaction of finding its greatest solution to the larger relating these solutions to the larger rationale of bibliography, as the favourite phrase, "the grammar of literary investigation." These papers earn their right to collection as a memorial to that discovery.

## HARDY PERENNIAL

JOHN T. WINTERICK and DAVID A. RANDALL: *A Primer of the Collecting*. 238pp. Allen and Unwin. 36s.

Mr. Winterick's manual was first published in 1927; it was revised, revised, 1935; was further revised, with the assistance of Mr. Randall, for the 1946 edition; and now appears, thrice revised for what is in fact its fourth edition, under the joint names of these two seasoned veterans (the only American contributors, incidentally, to that local manifesto, *New Paths in Book Collecting*, in 1934). The Winterick-Randall *Primer* is generally regarded as the dust-jacket tells us, as the foremost book on the subject, and although it is professionally designed for American collectors, the fact that it now appears, for the first time, over a London imprint lends colour to such a claim.

There is, certainly, especially in the first two chapters—a natural tendency to use American examples for the points made or the injunctions proffered, and there are a few vivid whiffs of the bibliophile's sphere of the 1920s. The authors make some debatable statements, e.g., that "in collecting, specialization is an immediate necessity." They quote to quote Henry Stevens's historical "Bible" George Brimley of 1873 about Gutenberg Bible. The paragraph on the history of the day-book is more work. And some improvements could be made in the next edition for English readers, in the list of books for further reading, for general this well-tempered, well-written for collectors of books means who are acquainted with rudiments, is so full of information and solid good sense that it will be as welcome in the classroom as in the club. But it has been these many years in

while this aspect of the matter does not escape the attention of Dr. Ray, his main purpose is to examine and determine exactly how the relations between the Centre and the States work out in practice. He argues that a constitution, like everything else, must develop to meet new needs; and he points out that every federal—American, Canadian, Australian and Swiss—has displayed a significant tendency towards centralization.

The fact that allowance is made for this tendency in the Indian constitution itself, thereby relieving the judiciary from the necessity, long appreciated by the United States Supreme Court, of invoking the doctrine of implied powers in order to secure to the centre the authority that it needs, seems to him a merit rather than a defect, and in no way to detract from the claims of the framers of that constitution that they were creating a federation. The fact is that a certain degree of overriding power in the centre is indispensable for a developing country; and in India such power has been encouraged by national planning by the authority of the Congress party, and by control over financial grants. On the other side are to be set the centrifugal instincts of the self-conscious and self-assertive linguistically organized states, which inspire constant complaints against the growing authority of the Centre. Dr. Ray is at pains to investigate the underlying causes of this restlessness. He concludes that much of it arises from jealousy of the undue preponderance of the U.P. both in population and in political influence, which is mixed up with resentment at the way the U.P. uses this influence to force Hindi upon those who do not want it as a national language, and is fortified by the feeling of the less advanced areas that they are relatively neglected in favour of the Hindi-speaking tracts. Dr. Ray suggests that it would be prudent to meet this unrest—and he thinks that it could be met—by making the Raj Sabha more like the American Senate, in which all the states are equally represented regardless of population or wealth, and by giving it equivalent powers.

History  
FEATHERSTONE, DONALD. *The Boy-nie of England*. 200pp. Jarrolds. 30s.

Mr. Featherstone has chosen a good subject and enjoyed writing his book. But he has taken too obvious pains, by means of imaginary conversations and the like, to make it attractive to his readers. Indeed what they will most enjoy are the excellent pages here devoted to the technicalities of archery, and to the skilled methods of its most famous English practitioners in the past. On the other hand, the account here given of the battles of the Hundred Years War, though colourful, is neither original nor always reliable. When the author follows the work of Colonel Burne he can be trusted, but his own use of the sources is uncritical. The writing is, however, always vigorous and even here some of the descriptions may challenge attention.

Griffiths, JOHN C. *Afghanistan*. 179pp. Pall Mall Press. 30s.

This is a sensible, plainly-written account of a country which has in the past figured dramatically in international affairs. It may, as Mr. Griffiths points out, do so again; but for the present, he thinks, it looks like taking its place in the 'comity of nations as another of the many developing national units whose progress depends largely upon external aid. In the past, its foreign relations have presented the most critical of its problems, but today, the author holds, the real task facing the Government are domestic. Among them he lists the problem of unity—particularly the relations between the Pathan majority and the numerous minority elements; the social and economic pressures of modernism upon a polity shaped primarily by tribal traditions; and the 'difficulty'—although this is not peculiar to Afghanistan—of reconciling Islamic orthodoxy with the needs of a developing society. This book is all the more useful to students because it is quite up to date. It contains, for example, the full text of the Constitution of 1964.

Mr. Griffiths pays high tribute to the men now at the head of affairs, a good many of whom—but not the

King himself—he met and talked with. He finds that their approach to the problems which face them, particularly in the economic field, is hard-headed, free from ideological shibboleths, and sensible. He found it difficult to judge precisely the progress made in the interval between his visits in 1957 and 1966 because of the paucity of statistics; but he noted significant signs of change—electric light and telephones in some remote villages; heated debates in a democratically elected parliament; a less inhibited attitude among the Russian engineers who are helping to modernize communications and industry. On the economic side the book is both interesting and well informed; there is an excellent account of the strong position which the Russians have built up for themselves. On the historical side Mr. Griffiths is not always quite so convincing; but, disarming, he includes a note by Sir Olaf Caroe which challenges some of his points of view.

PANICUCCI, ALFREDO. *The Life and Times of Louis XIV.* ROSSARO, MASSIMO. *The Life and Times of Elizabeth I.* RIZZATTI, MARIA LUISA. *The Life and Times of Michelangelo.* ROIVORE, MARIO. *The Life and Times of Napoleon.* Translated by C. J. Richards. 75pp. Paul Hamlyn. 15s. each.

These four "Life and Times" picture-books attract the eye as collections of vividly coloured illustrations, many of them reproductions of contemporary paintings and portraits, as well as sketches and cartoons. As each volume contains about one hundred pictures in its seventy-five pages, the printed text necessarily takes second place. The lives, in translation from the Italian by C. J. Richards, vary somewhat in quality; in the volume on Elizabeth I, for instance, there are hints of some unfamiliarity with the English background—among the captions we read that Nonesuch Palace was on the Thames, that the Woolpack was the name of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and that the queen's dominion "consisted only of the southern portion of England".

SNELL, LAWRENCE S. *The Suppression of the Religious Foundations of Devon and Cornwall*. 200pp. Marazion: Warden of Cornwall.

What, happened to the religious houses of the west and to their occupants after the Dissolution is studied in detail, from the records of the Court of Augmentations and other sources, in this local and specialized contribution to the history of the Reformation. A valuable feature of the book are the appendices which list the religious foundations, those to whom monastic property was granted, and the pensions paid to the displaced, mostly paid for at current rates and rarely a gift, tended to increase moderately existing estates, not to create vast new ones. In his foreword Professor David Knowles recommends the book as "a valuable study of a section of monastic and social history at the moment of the only sudden and permanent change in the religious and social life of rural England that has taken place between the Norman Conquest and the present century."

*Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Volume 17, 223pp. Royal Historical Society.

As one of the seven contributors whose papers make up the Society's latest volume, Professor Joel Huistfeldt takes a fresh look at the disputed question whether there was in fact a Tudor despotism. To what extent, under Henry VIII and Thomas Cromwell, was there government by consent? Seeking for an answer, he scrutinizes the composition and attitude of the Tudor parliaments, and dwells on the difference between the powers the government sought and what was actually granted in the Statute of Proclamations. Nevertheless, in his mention of a Tudor despotism, he wonders "whether the demolition squad has been too zealous".

Language  
GRIFFITHS, T. GWYNFOR. *Italian Writers and the Italian Language*. 299pp. University of Hull Publications. 3s.

In this inaugural lecture to the University of Leeds, Professor Griffiths discusses the development of the Italian language, a political as well

## BOOKS RECEIVED

[The inclusion of a book in this list does not preclude its subsequent review]

as linguistic phenomenon. Has one Italian dialect the right to call itself more Italian than another? One can talk of Florentine, Tuscan, Venetian, but can one strictly speaking talk of Italian? After the Risorgimento, Tuscan and Florentine lost a great deal of their autonomy. Rome's status as the Italian capital since the Risorgimento has for instance led to the introduction of elements of Roman dialect. Political unity has helped other dialects to leave their mark also, whereas modern communications, particularly television and the press, have helped to make a generalized Italian more accessible to a vast number of people. Not surprisingly, whether or not to write in dialect, in the manner of, say, Pasolini, is a stormy issue in Italian literary circles. Cesare Pavese accused the young generation of dialect writers of "sub-history", of refusing to "enter" history, whereas for Pasolini the use of dialect has an emancipatory effect on regions of Italy that would otherwise have no literature of their own. Professor Griffiths's lecture provides an excellent guide to this interesting topic.

HUGHENOTTAM, FRANK. *Russian through Reading*. 158pp. Teach Yourself Books. The English Universities Press. 10s. 6d.

It is doubtful whether this book could ever be used on its own for the study of Russian, and it is indeed suggested that it might serve as a companion volume to *Teach Yourself Russian*. The introduction to Russian grammar with which it starts is so rudimentary that it may confuse more than help, and the "Grammatical Tables for Reference" have little use for the language's irregularities. The passages for reading have been well chosen and are carefully explained, however, and reading after all is a most fruitful way of learning a language.

NEW REVISED VELDQUEZ Spanish and English Dictionary. 1,488pp. Heinemann. 23 3s.

Veldquez's Spanish and English Dictionary is as good as any available, and in this newly revised edition a number of technical and scientific terms have usefully been incorporated. However, its claim to cope adequately with Spanish American words and idioms must be disputed. Readers of Spanish American novels, for instance, will not be helped by this dictionary in the translation of a vast number of words they will find in them. Names of household goods, vegetation and animals vary a great deal from one Spanish American country to another, and are often widely different in Spain. Thus *chirlyte*, *poroto*, *aulicucha*, *loro*, *seahorta* (the last two are shell-fish in Chile and Peru respectively) should have been listed. *Huapango* is rather more than an "Indian hut" and *huiscama* rather more than a "door-keeper" in Ecuador, and in Chile a *cazuela* is a soup with meat and vegetables. *Pachamanca* is listed as a Peruvian barbecue, but much of the food eaten at *pachamanca* is omitted, as are two vital Chilean words, *poleo* and *pato*. For those whose concern is the Spanish spoken in Spain this is an excellent dictionary. Yet in its revision a great opportunity to fill an irritating gap has been lost.

WINE  
FORBES, PATRICK. *Champagne: The Wine, the Land and the People*. 492pp. Gollancz. £3 10s.

The history and the making of champagne in their topographical setting are described in this substantial volume—a magnum of a wine book. The historical section includes a full discussion of the uncertain role of Dom Pérignon in the "invention" of champagne towards the end of the seventeenth century. In the absence of much contemporary documentation, but on the basis of rather later references, Mr. Forbes is inclined to believe that for all intents and purposes the Benedictine monk did originate it in France. However, he admits that there is a reference to "brisk Champagne" in *Hudibras*, curiously described as "first performed in 1666" (the date is wrong, too, as the quotation comes from Part Two, first published in 1664). Such an example of "British champagnes" might engage the attention of the legal and appellation d'origine experts.

The author is impartial about still champagne, which once had a vogue in Britain, but he is less than fair to *blanc de blancs*. It is not quite true that vintage champagne comes from one year's crop only, for an admixture of wines from other years may be added legally, and often is, to improve the cuvée.

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